THE LIVES, &c.

OF

James I. Charles I.

Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

THE LIFE OF

Hugh Peters.

AN

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES AND WRITINGS

OF

James I. and Charles I.

AND OF

THE LIVES

OF

Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

AFTER THE MANNER OF MR. BAYLE.

FROM

ORIGINAL WRITERS AND STATE-PAPERS.

BY WILLIAM HARRIS.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, A GENERAL INDEX, &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR F. C. AND J. RIVINGTON; T. PAYNE; WILKIE AND ROBINSON; LONGMAN, HURST, REES, ORME, AND BROWN; CADELL AND DAVIES; J. MURRAY; J. MAWMAN; AND R. BALDWIN.

1814

G. Woodfall, Printer, Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.

SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF THE AUTHOR.

Of Dr. William Harris, the writer of these Lives, few memoirs have been preserved, and what is now laid before the reader, rests on no better authority, than that of a fugitive publication, except a few incidental notices from the Memoirs of Hollis.

Dr. Harris was the son of a tradesman at Salisbury, who probably was a dissenter. He was born in that city in 1720, and received his education at an academy kept at Taunton by Messrs. Grove and Amory, men of learning and note, as dissenting teachers. An early love of books and a thirst for knowledge, rendered application easy and

profitable, and he was thought qualified to preach before he was nineteen years of age.

He first officiated to a congregation at St. Loo, in Cornwall, and was afterwards invited to another in the city of Wells, where he was ordained in 1741. Within a few years, his marriage to a Miss Bovet of Honiton, occasioned his removal to that town, and his ministerial labours, for the rest of his life, were confined to a very small congregation at Luppit in the neighbourhood. To what denomination of dissenters he belonged we are not told. The strain of his discourses is said to have been plain and practical, but none of them have been published, and he appears to have soon courted fame in a different pursuit.

His political, if not his religious creed, led him to study the history of the seventeenth century, which in his time had received few of the lights that have since been thrown upon it; and what he read, he read with the eager eye of a nonconformist, de-

sirous to rescue his brethren from obloquy, and afford them a larger share in the merit of perpetuating the liberties of this kingdom. With this view, he resolved to become the biographer of the English branch of the Stuart family, and of Cromwell, and to assign to each their agency in the production of those great events in the seventeenth century, the REBELLION, the RESTORATION and the REVOLUTION.

His preliminary attempt was on a singular subject, the LIFE of HUGH PETERS, which as he published it without his name, has escaped the notice of the collectors of his works, but is now prefixed, as the first in the order of time, and essentially connected with one of the subjects of his future inquiries. In this life he professed to follow "the manner of Bayle," and it might have been thought that its appearance in print would have shown Dr. Harris that his choice was injudicious; but, for whatever reason, he followed the same in his subsequent

works. The Life of Peters was published in 1751, and in 1753 appeared his Life of JAMES I.; in 1758, that of CHARLES I.; in 1761, that of CROMWELL; and in 1765, that of CHARLES II: this last in 2 vols. 8vo. It was his design to have completed this series with a life of James II; but he was interrupted by an illness which terminated fatally in February 1770, in the fiftieth year of his age. His degree of Doctor in Divinity was procured for him from the University of Glasgow, in 1765, by his friend Mr. Thomas Hollis, who had assisted him in his various undertakings, by many curious and interesting communications, and the use of scarce books and pamphlets. Dr. Birch and other gentlemen in London seem also to have contributed liberally to his stock of historical materials. It is indeed as a collection of such, that these Lives have been principally valued, for Dr. Harris cannot be ranked among elegant writers. They were all well received on their

first publication, and the recent demand has raised them to an enormous price, which alone might justify the appearance of a new edition, if their curious and valuable contents had not given them a claim to a place in every English historical library. That Dr. Harris is always impartial cannot be gravely asserted, and that his reasonings are tinged with his early prejudices cannot be denied, but his facts are in general narrated with great fidelity, and the evidence on both sides is given without mutilation.

AN

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HUGH PETERS[a] born in the year 1599, was the son of considerable parents, of Foy in Cornwall. His father was a merchant; his mother of the ancient family of the Treffys[1] of Place in that town. He was sent to Cambridge at fourteen years of age;

[1] The ancient family of the Treffys of Place.] Thus the name is spelt in Peters's last legacy: but the same family was lately, if it is not now in being, in the same house, whose name is always, I think, spelled Treffry. However, from hence it is very apparent, that Peters's parentage by the mother, was very considerable. For the antiquity of the family is known to most; nor does it yield in gentility to any of the Cornish; which is no mean character in the eyes of those who value themselves on birth and descent.

[a] Chiefly extracted from a dying Father's last Legacy to an only Child; or Mr. Hugh Peters's Advice to his Daughter. London, 1660, 12mo.

where, being placed in Trinity College, he took the degree of batchelor of arts in 1616, and of master in 1622. He was licensed by Dr. Mountain, bishop of London, and preached at Sepulchre's with great success[2].

[2] Preached at Sepulchre's with great success.] His account of his coming to Sepulchre's, and the success that he met with, will let us see something of the man. "[a] To Sepulchre's I was brought by a very strange providence; for preaching before at another place, and a young man receiving some good, would not be satisfied, but I must preach at Sepulchre's, once monthly, for the good of his friends. In which he got his end (if I might not shew vanity) and he allowed thirty pounds *per ann.* to that lecture; but his person unknown to me. He was a chandler, and died a good man, and member of parliament. At this lecture the resort grew so great, that it contracted envy and anger; though I believe above a hundred every week were persuaded from sin to Christ: There were six or seven thousand hearers, and the circumstances fit for such good work."——Great success this! and what few preachers are blessed with. But some, I know, would attribute this to enthusiasm, which is very contagious, and produces surprising, though not lasting effects. However this be, it is no wonder envy and anger were contracted by it. For church governors are wont to dislike popular preachers, especially when they set themselves to teach in a manner different from them. ——I will only remark further, that Peters was as great a converter as our modern Methodists.

[a] Peters's Legacy, p. 101.

Meeting with some trouble on the account of his nonconformity[3], he went to Holland,

[3] Trouble on the account of his nonconformity.] Never was there any thing in the world more inconsistent with Christianity or good policy than persecution for conscience sake. Yet, such was the madness of the prelates, during the reigns of the Stuarts, as to harass and distress men most cruelly, merely on account of nonconformity to ecclesiastical ceremonies. Laud was an arch tyrant this way, as is known to all acquainted with our histories; nor were Wren and others much inferior to him. The very spirit of tyranny actuated their breasts, and made them feared and loathed whilst living, caused them to be abhorred since dead, and will render them infamous throughout all generations. I can add nothing to what Locke and Bayle have said on the reasonableness and equity of toleration: to them I will refer those, who have any doubts about it. Only as to the popular objections of its being inconsistent with the good of the state, and the wars and tumults occasioned by it, I will beg leave to observe, that it is evident to a demonstration, that those communities are more happy in which the greatest number of sects abound. Holland, the free cities of Germany, and England, since the revolution, prove the truth of my assertion. And I will venture, without pretending to the spirit of prophecy, to affirm, that, whenever the sects in England shall cease, learning and liberty will be no more amongst us. So that, instead of suppressing, we ought to wish their increase. For they are curbs to the state clergy, excite a spirit of emulation, and occasion a decency and regularity of behaviour among them, which they would, probably, be otherwise strangers to.

where he was five or six years[4]; from whence he removed to New England, and, after

And for civil wars about religion; they are so far from arising from toleration, that, for the most part, they are the effect of the prince's imprudence. "He must needs (says an indisputable judge) have unseasonably favoured one sect, at the expence of another: He must either have too much promoted, or too much discouraged the public exercise of certain forms of worship: He must have added weight to party-quarrels, which are only transient sparks of fire, when the sovereign does not interfere, but become conflagrations when he foments them. To maintain the civil government with vigour, to grant every man a liberty of conscience, to act always like a king, and never to put on the priest, is the sure means of preserving a state from those storms and hurricanes, which the dogmatical spirit of divines is continually labouring to conjure up[a]." Had Charles the first had the wisdom and prudence of this great writer, he never had plunged his kingdoms into the miseries of a civil war; nor by hearkening to his chaplains, refused terms which would have prevented his unhappy catastrophe.

[4] Where he was five or six years.] It seems that he behaved himself so well, during his stay in Holland, as to procure great interest and reputation in that country; for, being afterwards in Ireland, and seeing the great distress of the poor protestants, that had been plundered by the Irish rebels, he went into Holland, and procured about thirty thousand pounds to be sent from thence into Ireland for their relief.—Ludlow's Memoirs, Vol. III. p. 75.

[a] Anti-Machiavel Eng. Trav. p. 328, edit. 1741.

residing there seven years, was sent into England by that colony, to mediate for ease in customs and excise. The civil war being then on foot, he went into Ireland, and upon his return, was entertained by the earl of Warwick, sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, afterwards protector[5]. He

[5] Entertained by the earl of Warwick, sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell.] Mr. Whitlock shall be my voucher for this. [a] Mr. Peters, says he, gave a large relation to the commons, of all the business of Lyme, where he was with the earl of Warwick. Again[b], Mr. Peters, who brought up letters from sir Thomas Fairfax, was called into the house, and made a large relation of the particular passages in the taking of Bridgwater. And[c] Mr. Peters was called into the house, and gave them a particular account of the siege of Bristol;—and he pressed the desire of sir Thomas Fairfax to have recruits sent him.—[d] Letters brought by Mr. Peters, from lieutenant-general Cromwell, concerning the taking Winchester Castle; after which he was called in, and gave a particular relation of it.—[e] He came from the army to the house, and made them a narration of the storming and taking of Dartmouth, and of the valour, unity, and affection of the army, and presented several letters, papers, crucifixes, and other popish things taken in the town.—It is plain from these quotations, that Peters must have been in favour with the generals, and that he must have made some considerable figure in the transactions of those

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 92, Lond. 1732, folio. [b] Ibid. p. 163. [c] Ibid. p. 171. [d] Ibid. p. 175. [e] Ibid. p. 189.

was much valued by the parliament, and improved his interest with them in the behalf of the unfortunate[6]. He was very zealous and active in their cause, and had presents made him, and an estate given him by them[7].

times. It is not improbable that the distinction with which he was treated by them, attached him so firmly to their interest, that in the end it cost him his life.

[6] Improved his interest with them in the behalf of the unfortunate.] "At his trial he averred he had a certificate under the marchioness of Worcester's hand, beginning with these words: I do here testify, that in all the sufferings of my husband, Mr. Peters was my great friend. And added he, I have here a seal, (and then produced it) that the earl of Norwich gave me to keep for his sake, for saving his life, which I will keep as long as I live[a]." And how great the opinion was of his interest with the persons in power, we find from the following words in a letter addressed to secretary Nicholas, March 8, 1648. Mr. Peters presenting yesterday Hamilton's petition to the speaker, made many believe he at last would escape[b]. Indeed, here he was unsuccessful: but his good-nature, and readiness to oblige, were manifested, and one would have thought should have merited some return to him when in distress.

[7] The presents made him, and an estate given him by them.] We find in Whitlock, that he had 100

[a] Exact and impartial account of the trial of the regicides. Lond. 4to. 1660, p. 173.

[b] Ormond's Papers published by Carte, vol. I. p. 233. Lond. 1739.

He assisted Mr. Chaloner in his last moments, as he afterwards did sir Jn. Hotham[8].

pounds given him, when he brought the news of taking Bridgwater; 50 pounds, when he brought letters from Cromwell concerning the taking Winchester Castle; that there was an order for 100 pounds a year for him and his heirs; and another ordinance for 200 pounds a year. [a] To all which we may add, the estate the parliament gave him, mentioned in the body of the article (if it was distinct from the 100 and 200 pounds *per annum* mentioned by Whitlock) which was part of the lord Craven's; and the bishop's books (Laud's, I suppose) valued, as he tells us, at 140 pounds; and likewise the pay of a preacher as he could get it. [b] These were handsome rewards, and shew the parliament to have been no bad masters. But, notwithstanding, "he says, he lived in debt, because what he had, others shared in[c]." From hence, generosity or prodigality of temper, may be inferred: but as it may as well be attributed to the former as to the latter, I know not why we should not consider him rather as laudable than culpable. Indeed, the clergy have been branded for their covetousness; though certain it is, there have been some among them, who have performed as many generous, good-natured actions, as any of their ill-willers.

[8] He assisted Mr. Chaloner and sir John Hotham.] Mr. Chaloner was[d] executed for what was called Waller's plot, an account of which is to be found in the historians of those times. He owned he died justly, and deserved his punishment. In compliance with Pe-

[a] See the pages before quoted in remark 5. [b] Peters's Legacy, p. 102, 104, 115. [c] Id. p. 103. [d] July 5, 1643.

ters's request, he explained the part he had had in it, and being desired by him, Peters prayed with him[a]. —The business of sir John Hotham is well known. Peters attended him on the scaffold[b], and received public thanks on it from him. I will transcribe part of his speech, and likewise of Peters's, by his command, that the reader may judge something of his temper and behaviour. "I hope," said sir John, "God Almighty will forgive me, the parliament, and the court martial, and all men that have had any thing to do with my death. And, gentlemen, I thank this worthy gentleman[c] for putting me in mind of it."—Then Mr. Peters spoke again [he had before mentioned the desire of sir John, not to have many questions put to him, he having fully discovered his mind to him and other ministers: but that he might have liberty to speak only what he thought fit concerning himself] "and told the audience, that he had something further to commend unto them from sir John Hotham, which was, that he had lived in abundance of plenty, his estate large, about 2000 pounds a year at first, and that he had gained much to it; that, in the beginning of his days, he was a soldier in the Low Countries, and was at the battle of Prague: that at his first going out for a soldier, his father spoke to him to this effect; Son! when the crown of England lies at stake, you will have fighting enough. That he had run through great hazards and undertakings; and now coming to this end, desired they would take notice in him, of the vanity of all things here below, as wit, parts, prowess, strength, friends, honour, or what else."

"Then Mr. Peters having prayed, and after him sir

[a] Rushw. Hist. Collect. Part III. vol. II. p. 327, 328. Lond. 1692, fol. [b] Jan. 2, 1644. [c] He was hereunto moved by Mr. Peters, says Rushworth.

He could fight[9] as well as pray; though,

John, they sung the 38th Psalm; and sir John kneeling behind the block, spent above a quarter of an hour in private prayer; after which, lying down, the executioner, at one blow, did his office[a]."

We see nothing here but great civility in Peters, and the due discharge of his office. Here is nothing troublesome or impertinent, but as one would wish to have it in like circumstances. Let the reader compare the following account of sir John's behaviour with Rushworth's, and judge of the truth of the narration, and the justness of the epithet bestowed on Peters.

"The poor man (sir John Hotham) appeared so dispirited, that he spoke but few words after he came upon the scaffold, and suffered his ungodly confessor Peters, to tell the people, that he had revealed himself to him, and confessed his offences against the parliament; and so he committed his head to the block[b]."

Peters, we see, said nothing like his having confessed his offences against the parliament. This, therefore, is mere invention, like too many other things to be found in this celebrated history: the charge of interpolations and additions against which I am sorry, for the noble writer's sake, to find affirmed to be groundless, by so worthy a man, and so good a judge, as Mr. Birch[c].—As to the epithet ungodly conferred on Peters, the considerate reader will judge of it as it deserves.

[9] Fight as well as pray.] Let us hear Whitlock. "Mr. Peters, at the beginning of the troubles in Ireland, led a brigade against the rebels, and came off

[a] Rushworth, Hist. Collect. Part III. Vol. II. p. 803, 804. Lond. 1692, fol. [b] Clarendon's History of the grand Rebellion, Vol. II. Part II. p. 622. Oxford, 1707. [c] Life of Hampden among the Lives of illustrious Men. A. 78.

perhaps, in his capacity of a preacher he was most serviceable to the cause[10].

with honour and victory[a]." So that we see he knew how to use both swords, and could slay and kill, as well as feed the sheep; which, in the opinion of Baronius, Christ gave Peter authority to exercise equally, as occasion might require[b]. But, to be serious, this leading a brigade against the Irish rebels, ought not to be imputed to Peters as a crime: it being equally as justifiable as archbishop Williams's arming in the civil wars in England, or Dr. Walker's defending Londonderry, and fighting at the battle of the Boyne (in which he gloriously lost his life) in Ireland; more especially as the Irish against whom Peters fought, were a bloodthirsty crew, who had committed[c] acts of wickedness, hardly to be paralleled even in the annals of Rome papal. Against such villains, therefore, it was meritorious to engage, and Peters was undeniably praise-worthy. For there are times and seasons when the gown must give place to arms, even at those times when our laws, liberties, and religion are endangered by ambitious, bloody, and superstitious men. And were the clergy in all countries as much concerned for these blessings as they ought, they would deserve the reverence of all orders of men.

[10] In his capacity of a preacher he was most serviceable to the cause.] Whitlock tells us[d], that when sir Thomas Fairfax moved for storming Bridgwater anew, and it was assented to, the Lord's day before, Mr. Peters, in his sermon, encouraged the soldiers to the work.

[a] Whitlock, p. 426. [b] Bedel's Life, p. 6. 8vo. Lond. 1685.
[c] See a breviate of some of the cruelties, murders, &c. committed by the Irish popish rebels upon the protestants, Oct. 23, 1641, in Rushworth, Part III. Vol. I. p. 405. [d] Whitlock, p. 162.

He was thought to be deeply concerned in the king's death, and his name has been

And at Milford Haven, the country did unanimously take the engagement, and Mr. Peters opened the matter to them, and did much encourage them to take it. ——He preached also in the market-place at Torrington[a], and convinced many of their errors in adhering to the king's party.—A man of this temper[b], it is easily seen, must be of great service to any party; and seems to deserve the rewards he received. For in factions, it is the bold and daring man, the man that will spare no pains, that is to be valued and encouraged; and not the meek, the modest, and moderate one. A man of wisdom would not have taken these employments upon him, nor would a minister, one should think, who was animated by the meek and merciful spirit of the gospel, have set himself from the pulpit, to encourage the soldiers to storm a town, in which his brethren and countrymen were besieged. If storming was thought necessary by the generals, they themselves should have encouraged the soldiers thereunto; but Peters, as a minister of the gospel, should have excited them rather to spare the effusion of human blood as much as possible, and to have compassion on the innocent. Peters, however, was not singular in his conduct. The immortal Chillingworth, led away with party spirit, and forgetting that he was a minister of the Prince of Peace, attended the king's army before Gloucester; and "observing that they wanted materials to carry on the siege, suggested the making of some engines, after the manner of the Roman *testudines cum pluteis*[c]."—Indeed,

[a] Whitlock, p. 447. [b] Ibid. p. 194. [c] Maizeaux's Life of Chillingworth, p. 280, Lond. 1725, 8vo. and Rushworth. Part 3d, Vol. II. p. 290.

treated with much severity by reason of it[11].

the divines of both sides too much addicted themselves to their respective parties; and were too unmindful of the duties of their function.

[11] Deeply concerned in the king's death, &c.] Every one knows he suffered for this after the Restoration. He had judgment passed on him as a traitor, and as such was executed[a], and his head afterwards set on a pole on London bridge.

Burnet tells us[b], "that he had been outragious in pressing the king's death, with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor."—Dr. Barwick says, "he was upon no slight grounds accused to have been one of the king's murtherers, though it could not be sufficiently proved against him[c]."

And we find in a satirical piece, styled *Epulæ Thyestæ*, printed 1649, the following lines:

> "There's Peters, the denyer (nay 'tis said)
> He that (disguis'd) cut off his master's head;
> That godly pigeon of apostacy
> Does buz about his anti-monarchy,
> His scaffold doctrines."

One Mr. Starkey at his trial swore[d], that "he stiled the king tyrant and fool, asserted that he was not fit to be a king, and that the office was dangerous, chargeable, and useless."

It was likewise sworn on his trial, that in a sermon, a few days before the king's trial, he addressed himself to the members of the two houses, in these terms[e]: "My lords, and you noble gentlemen,—It is you, we

[a] Oct. 16, 1660. [b] Hist. of his own Times, Dutch edit. in 12mo. vol. I. p. 264. [c] Barwick's Life, Eng. trans. p. 296, Lond. 1724. [d] Trial of the Regicides, p. 159. [e] Ibid. p. 166.

He was appointed one of the triers for

chiefly look for justice from. Do not prefer the great Barabbas, murtherer, tyrant and traytor, before these poor hearts (pointing to the red coats) and the army, who are our saviours."

In another sermon before Cromwell and Bradshaw, he said, "Here is a great discourse and talk in the world; what, will ye cut off the head of a protestant prince[a]? Turn to your bibles, and ye shall find it there, whosoever sheds man's blood, by man shall his blood be shed.—I see neither king Charles, prince Charles, nor prince Rupert, nor prince Maurice, nor any of that rabble excepted out of it[b]."—These and many other things of the like nature, were sworn against him at his trial, and notwithstanding his denial of the most part of them, caused his condemnation. So that there seems pretty clear proof of his guilt, and sufficient reason for his censure.

Let us now hear Peters speak for himself: "I had access to the king,—he used me civilly; I, in requital, offered my poor thoughts three times for his safety; I never had hand in contriving or acting his death, as I am scandalized, but the contrary, to my mean power[c]." Which, if true, no wonder he should think the act of indemnity would have included him, as well as others, as he declares he did, of which we shall speak more hereafter.

That he was useful and serviceable to the king, during his confinement, there is undeniable proof. Whitlock writes "that upon a conference between the king and Mr. Hugh Peters, and the king desiring one of his

[a] *i. e.* King's. [b] Trial of the Regicides, p. 168.
[c] Peters's Legacy, p. 102.

own chaplains might be permitted to come to him, for his satisfaction in some scruples of conscience, Dr. Juxon, bishop of London, was ordered to go to his majesty[a]." And "sir John Denham, being entrusted by the queen, to deliver a message to his Majesty, who, at that time, was in the hands of the army, by Hugh Peters's assistance, he got admittance to the king[b]."

These were considerable services, and could hardly have been expected from a man, who was outrageous in pressing the king's death, with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor.

And as to what was said of his being supposed to be the king's executioner, one, who was his servant, deposed on his trial, that he kept his chamber, being sick, on the day the king suffered: and no stress was laid by the king's counsel on the suspicions uttered against him on this head. So that, in all reason, Dr. Barwick should have forborne saying, "that he was upon no slight grounds accused to have been one of the king's murtherers."

Certain it is, he too much fell in with the times, and, like a true court chaplain, applauded and justified what his masters did, or intended to do; though he himself might be far enough from urging them beforehand to do it. He would perhaps have been pleased, if the king and army had come to an agreement: but as that did not happen, he stuck close to his party, and would not leave defending their most iniquitous behaviour.

Which conduct is not peculiar to Peters. Charles the First, at this day, is spoke of as the best, not only of men, but of kings; and the parliament is said to

[a] Whitlock, p. 370. [b] Denham's Epist. Dedicat. to Charles II. of his Poems, second edition, 1671.

the ministry[12]. And a commissioner for

have acted right in opposing his tyranny, and likewise in bringing him to the block, by the staunch partymen of each side respectively. No wickedness is owned, no errors are acknowledged on the one part, nor is there any such thing to be granted as wisdom or honesty on the other.—These are the men that often turn the world upside down, and spirit up mobs, tumults and seditions, till at length they become quite contemptible, and perhaps undergo the fate allotted to folly and villany.

[12] One of the triers for the ministry.] These were men appointed by Cromwell, to try the abilities of all entrants into the ministry, and likewise the capacity of such others, as were presented, or invited to new places. Butler, according to his manner, has represented their business in a ludicrous light in the following lines:

> "Whose business is, by cunning slight,
> To cast a figure for men's light;
> To find in lines of beard and face,
> The physiognomy of grace;
> And by the sound and twang of nose,
> If all be sound within disclose;
> Free from a crack or flaw of sinning,
> As men try pipkins by the ringing."
>
> HUDIB. CANTO III.

However, jesting apart, it must be owned, the thing in itself was good enough: but instead of examining those who came before them in languages, divinity, and more especially morality, things of the highest importance, one should think; they used to ask them, whether they had ever any experience of a work of grace on their hearts[a]? And according as they could

[a] How's Life, by Calamy, p. 21. Lond. 1724. 8vo.

answer hereunto, were they received or rejected.—How much more intelligible would it have been, to have enquired, whether they were "blameless, husbands of one wife, vigilant, sober, of good behaviour, given to hospitality, apt to teach, not given to wine, no strikers, not greedy of filthy lucre, patient, not brawlers, not covetous? Whether they ruled well their own houses, and had a good report of them which were without[a]?" I say, how much more intelligible and important would these questions have been, yea, how much easier and more certainly determined, than that abovementioned? But it is a very long time ago, that these were the qualifications required and expected from clergymen: for ages past, subscription to doubtful articles of faith, declarations very ambiguous, or most difficult to be made by understanding minds, or the Shibboleth of the prevailing party in the church, have been the things required and insisted on. Whence it has come to pass, that so many of our divines, as they are styled, understand so little of the scriptures, and that they know and practise so little of pure, genuine Christianity. I would not be thought to reflect on any particular persons; but hope those, in whose hands the government of the church is lodged, will consider whether they are not much too careless in their examinations of young men for ordination? Whether very many of them are not unqualified to teach and instruct, through neglect of having carefully studied the word of God? And whether their conversation be not such as is unsuitable to the character conferred on them?—It is with uneasiness one is obliged to hint at these things. But, surely, it is more than time that they were reformed, and St. Paul's rules were put in practice.

[a] 1 Tim. iii. 2—7.

amending the laws[13], though poorly qualified for it.

A wise, virtuous, prudent clergy is the glory and happiness of a community, and there cannot be too much care taken to procure it[a]. But if triers neglect the means of doing this, and admit all who are presented to a curacy to orders, if so be they will make use of the terms in vogue, whether they understand them or no, they deserve censure, and are answerable for all the sad consequences which flow from ignorance, folly and vice.

[13] Commissioner for amending the laws, though poorly qualified for it.] He as good as owns this in the following passage: "When I was a trier of others, I went to hear and gain experience, rather than to judge; when I was called about mending laws, I rather was there to pray, than to mend laws: but in all these I confess, I might as well have been spared[b]." This is modest, and very ingenuous: but such a confession, as few of our gentlemen concerned in such matters, would choose to make. They frequently boast of the great share they have in business; though many of them may well be spared.—Let us confirm the truth of Peters's confession, by Whitlock: "I was often advised with by some of this committee, and none of them was more active in this business, than Mr. Hugh Peters the minister, who understood little of the law, but was very opinionative, and would frequently mention some proceedings of law in Holland, wherein he was altogether mistaken[c]."—The ignorance and inability of the man, with regard to these matters, we see

[a] See Hutchinson's Introduction to Moral Philosophy, B. III. Ch. 8. Sect. 1. [b] Peters's Legacy, p. 109. [c] Whitlock, p. 521.

are as plainly described here, as in his own words; though how to reconcile his opinionativeness and activity in it, with his going to the committee rather to pray than to mend laws, I confess, I know not. Perhaps he had forgot the part he had acted.—This[a] "committee were to take into consideration what inconveniences were in the law, how the mischiefs that grow from delays, the chargeableness and irregularities in the proceedings of the law may be prevented, and the speediest way to prevent the same." In this committee with Peters, were Mr. Fountain, Mr. Rushworth, and sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, afterwards earl of Shaftesbury, and lord high chancellor; besides many others of rank and figure. No great matters followed from this committee, by reason of the hurry of the times, and the opposition which the lawyers made to it. But the parliament had a little before[b] passed an "act that all the books of the law should be put into English; and that all writs, process, and returns thereof, and all patents, commissions, indictments, judgments, records, and all rules and proceedings in courts of justice, shall be in the English tongue only." This act or ordinance (to speak in the language of the times of which I am writing) does great honour to the parliament, and is an argument of their good sense, and concern for the welfare of the people. It is amazing so good a law should not have been continued by proper authority after the Restoration! But it was a sufficient reason then to disuse a thing, though ever so good in itself, that it had been enacted by an usurped power. Of such fatal consequences are prejudices! But thanks be unto God! we have seen the

[a] This committee was appointed Jan. 20, 1651. [b] Oct. 25, 1650. Whitlock, p. 475.

He is accused of great vices; but whether justly, or not, is a question[14].

time when this most excellent ordinance has been again revived, and received the sanction of the whole legislature.—How much were it to be wished, that a committee of wise and prudent persons were once more employed to revise, amend, and abridge our laws! that we might know ourselves how to act, and not be necessitated to make use of those, who (we are sensible) live on our spoils.—This would add greatly to the glory of our most excellent prince; and would be the best employment of that peace, which his wisdom has procured for us. But much is it to be feared, that our adversaries will be too hard for us, and that we shall be obliged, for a time at least, to submit to their yoke. But whenever the spirit of true patriotism shall generally possess the breasts of our senators, I doubt not, but that they will apply themselves to our deliverance in good earnest, and bring it to perfection (as it was long ago done in Denmark, and very lately in Prussia) in as much as the happiness of the community absolutely depends thereon.

[14] Accused of great vices; but whether justly, or not, is a question.] I will transcribe Dr. Barwick at large[a]. "The wild prophecies uttered by his (Hugh Peters's) impure mouth, were still received by the people with the same veneration, as if they had been oracles; though he was known to be infamous for more than one kind of wickedness. A fact, which Milton himself did not dare to deny, when he purposely wrote his apology, for this very end, to defend even by name (as far as was possible) the very blackest of the conspirators, and

[a] Barwick's Life, p. 155, 156.

He was executed shortly after the Resto-

Hugh Peters among the chief of them, who were by name accused of manifest impieties by their adversaries."—Burnet[a] says likewise, "He was a very vicious man." And Langbaine[b] hints something of an "affair that he had with a butcher's wife of Sepulchre's."—Peters himself was not insensible of his ill character amongst the opposite party, nor of the particular vice laid to his charge by Langbaine: but he terms it reproach, and attributes it to his zeal in the cause.—"By my zeal, it seems, I have exposed myself to all manner of reproach: but wish you to know, that (besides your mother) I have had no fellowship that way with any woman since I knew her, having a godly wife before also, I bless God[c]."

A man is not allowed to be a witness in his own cause; nor should, I think, his adversaries' testimony be deemed full proof. One loaden with such an accusation as Peters was, and suffering as a traitor, when the party spirit ran high, and revenge actuated the breasts of those who bore rule: for such a one to be traduced, and blackened beyond his deserts, is no wonder.—It is indeed hard to prove a negative; and the concurring testimony of writers to Peters's bad character, makes one with difficulty suspend assent unto it. But if the following considerations be weighed, I shall not, perhaps, be blamed, for saying it was a question whether he was accused justly, or not?

1. The accusations against him came from known enemies, those who hated the cause he was engaged in, and looked on it as detestable. It may easily therefore

[a] Hist. vol. I. p. 264. [b] Dramatic Poets, p. 339.
[c] Legacy, p. 106.

ration; though doubtless, he had as much

be supposed, that they were willing to blacken the actors in it, or at least, that they were susceptible of ill impressions concerning them, and ready to believe any evil thing they heard of them. This will, if attended to, lessen the weight of their evidence considerably, and dispose us to think that they may have misrepresented the characters of their opponents. Barwick, at first sight, appears an angry partial writer; Burnet's characters were never thought too soft; they were both enemies to the republican party, though not equally furious and violent. Add to this, that neither of them, as far as appears, knew any thing of Peters themselves; and therefore what they write must be considered only as common fame, than which nothing is more uncertain.

2. The times in which Peters was on the stage, were far enough from favouring vice (public vice, for it is of this Peters is accused) in the ministerial character. He must be a novice in the history of those times, who knows not what a precise, demure kind of men the preachers among the parliamentarians were. They were careful not only of their actions, but likewise of their words and looks; and allowed not themselves in the innocent gaieties and pleasures of life. I do not take on me to say, they were as good, as they pretended to be. For aught I know, they might be, yea, perhaps, were proud, conceited, censorious, uncharitable, avaricious. But then drunkenness, whoredom, adultery, and swearing, were things quite out of vogue among them, nor was it suffered in them. So that how vicious soever their inclinations might be, they were obliged to conceal them, and keep them from the eye of the public. It was this sobriety of behaviour,

this strictness of conversation, joined with their popular talents in the pulpit, that created them so much respect, and caused such a regard to be paid unto their advice and direction. The people in a manner adored them, and were under their government almost absolutely. So that the leading men in the house of commons, and those, who after the king's death were in the administration of affairs, were obliged to court them, and profess to admire them. Hence it was, that men of such sense as Pym, Hampden, Holles, Whitlock, Selden, St. John, Cromwell, &c. sat so many hours hearing their long-winded weak prayers, and preachments; that men of the greatest note took it as an honour to sit with the assembly of divines, and treated them with so much deference and regard. For it was necessary to gain the preachers, in order to maintain their credit with the people: Now, certainly, if Peters had been a man so vicious as he is represented, he could have had no influence over the people, nor would he have been treated by the then great men, in the manner he was. For they must have parted with him even for their own sakes, unless they would have been looked on as enemies to godliness. But Peters was caressed by the great; his prophecies were received as oracles by the people; and he was of great service to Cromwell: and therefore he could not surely (at least publicly) be known to be infamous for more than one kind of wickedness, as Barwick asserts. In short, hypocrisy was the characteristic of Peters's age: and,

——————— "Hypocritic zeal
Allows no sins, but those it can conceal." DRYDEN.

3. Peters's patrons seem to render the account of his wickedness very improbable. We have seen that he was entertained by the earl of Warwick, sir Thomas Fairfax, and Oliver Cromwell, and that he was much

reason to think he should have escaped, as many others[15].

The charge against him was for compassing and imagining the death of the king, by conspiring with Oliver Cromwell, at several times and places; and procuring the

caressed and rewarded by the parliament. How improbable then is it, that Peters should be infamous for wickedness! His patrons were never accused of personal vices; they were men who made high pretensions to religion; and the cause they fought for, they talked of (if they did not think it to be) as the cause of God. Now, with what face could they have done this, if their chaplain, confident and tool, had been known to have been a very vicious man? Or, how could they have talked against scandalous ministers, who employed one most scandalous? In short, how could they reward Peters publicly, when they always professed great zeal for godliness, and were for promoting it to the highest pitch? Men of their wisdom can hardly be thought to have acted so inconsistent a part; nor is there any thing in their whole conduct, which would lead one to think they could be guilty of it. From all these considerations therefore I think it reasonable to make it a question, whether Peters was charged justly with great vices?

[15] As much reason to think he should have escaped, as many others]. "I thought the act of indemnity would have included me, but the hard character upon me excluded me[a]." And no wonder he should think so, if it was true, "that he never had his hand in any

[a] Legacy, p. 106.

soldiers to demand justice, by preaching divers sermons to persuade them to take off the king, comparing him to Barabbas, &c. To which he pleaded in his own defence, that the war began before he came into England; that since his arrival, he had en-

man's blood, but saved many in life and estate[a]." All that was laid to Peters's charge was words; but words, it must be owned, unfit to be uttered: yet if we consider how many greater offenders than Peters escaped capital punishment, we may possibly think he had hard measure. Harry Martyn, John Goodwin, and John Milton, spoke of Charles the First most reproachfully, and the two latter vindicated his murther in their public writings. As early as 1643, we find Martyn speaking out plainly, "that it was better the king and his children were destroyed, than many;" which words were then looked on as so high and dangerous, that he was committed by the house to the Tower; though shortly after released and re-admitted to his place in parliament[b]. He continued still virulent against the king, was one of his judges, and acted as much as possible against him. Goodwin justified the seclusion of the members, which was the prelude to Charles's tragedy; vindicated his murther, and went into all the measures of his masters; and being a man of ready wit and great learning, was of good service to them. And as for Milton, there is no one but knows, that he wrote most sharply against king Charles, and set forth his actions in a terribly

[a] Legacy, p. 104. See remark 6. [b] Whitlock, p. 71.

deavoured to promote sound religion, the reformation of learning, and the law, and employment of the poor; that, for the better effecting these things, he had espoused the interest of the parliament, in which he had acted without malice, avarice, or am-

black light. To take no notice of his writings against Salmasius and More; what could be more cruel against Charles, than his Iconoclastes! How bitter are his observations, how cutting his remarks on his conduct! How horribly provoking, to point out sir Philip Sidney's Arcadia, as the book from whence the "prayer in the time of captivity," delivered to Dr. Juxon, immediately before his death, was chiefly taken[a]? One should have thought this an indignity never to have been forgotten, nor forgiven, especially as it was offered by one who was secretary to Cromwell, and who had spent the best part of his life in the service of the anti-royalists. But yet Milton was preserved as to life and fortune (happy for the polite arts he was preserved) and lived in great esteem among men of worth all his days. Goodwin had the same good fortune; and Martin escaped the fate of many of his fellow judges; though on his trial, he behaved no way abjectly or meanly. All this had the appearance of clemency, and Peters might reasonably have expected to share in it. But, poor wretch! he had nothing to recommend him, as these had, and therefore, though more innocent, fell without pity. Martin, as it was reported, escaped merely by his

[a] Vid. Bayle's Dict. Article Milton. Milton's Works, or Toland's Amyntor.—See also Vol. II. p. 119, of the present work.

bition; and that whatever prejudices or passions might possess the minds of men, yet there was a God who knew these things to be true.

At the place of execution, when chief justice Coke was cut down and embowelled,

vices[a]: Goodwin having been a zealous Arminian, and a sower of division among the sectaries, on these accounts had friends: but what Milton's merit with the courtiers was, Burnet says not. Though, if I am not mistaken, it was his having saved sir William Davenant's life formerly, which was the occasion of the favour shewn to him. Merit or interest, in the eyes of the then courtiers these had; but Peters, though he had saved many a life and estate, was forgotten by those whom in their distress he had served, and given up to the hangman.—But the sentence passed on him, and much more the execution of it, will seem very rigorous, if we consider that it was only for words; for words uttered in a time of confusion, uproar and war. I am not lawyer enough to determine, whether by any statute then in force, words were treason. Lord Strafford[b], in his defence at the bar of the house of lords, says expressly, "No statute makes words treason." But allowing they were, such a law must be deemed to have been hard, and unfit for execution: especially as the words were spoken in times of civil commotion. For in such seasons men say and do, in a manner, what they list, the laws are disregarded, and rank and

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 265. [b] Trial, p. 561. fol. Lond. 1680.

Hugh Peters was then ordered to be brought that he might see it; and the executioner came to him, rubbing his bloody hands, asked him how he liked that work? He told him, that he was not at all terrified, and that he might do his worst. And when

character unminded. Contempt is poured on princes, and the nobles are had in derision. These are the natural consequences of wars and tumults; and wise men foresee and expect them. But were all concerned in them to be punished, whole cities would be turned into shambles. To overlook and forgive what has been said on such occasions, is a part of wisdom and prudence, and what has been almost always practised. Never were there greater liberties taken with princes, never more dangerous doctrines inculcated by preachers, than in France, during part of the reigns of the third and fourth Henry. "The college of Sorbonne, by common consent, concluded that the French were discharged from the oath of allegiance to Henry the Third, and that they might arm themselves in opposition to him." In consequence of which, the people vented their rage against him, in satires, lampoons, libels, infamous reports and calumnies, of which the most moderate were tyrant and apostate. And the curates refused absolution to such as owned they could not renounce him[a]. And the same Sorbonists decreed all those who favoured the party of Henry the Fourth, to be in a mortal sin, and liable to damnation; and such as resisted him, champions of

[a] Maimbourgh's History of the League, translated by Dryden, Oct. 1684. Lond. p. 432 and 437.

he was upon the ladder, he said to the sheriff, Sir, you have butchered one of the servants of God before my eyes, and have forced me to see it, in order to terrify and discourage me; but God has permitted it for my support and encouragement.

the faith, and to be rewarded with a crown of martyrdom[a]. These decrees produced terrible effects: and yet, when Henry the Fourth had fully established himself on the throne, I do not remember that he called any of these doctors to an account, or that one of them was executed. That wise prince, undoubtedly, considered the times, and viewed these wretches with pity and contempt, for being the tools of cunning artful men, who veiled their ambitious designs under the cloke of religion.

So that really considering what had passed abroad, and what passed under his own observation, Peters had reason to think that the act of indemnity would have included him.—But setting aside all this, I believe all impartial judges will think he had hard measure dealt him, when they consider that those who preached up doctrines in the pulpit as bad as Peters's, and those likewise who, though guardians of our laws and liberties, and sworn to maintain them, delivered opinions destructive of them, even from the bench: I say, whoever considers the comparatively mild treatment these men have met with, will be apt to judge the punishment of Peters very severe. What was the crime of Peters? Was it not the justifying and

[a] Maimbourgh's History of the League, translated by Dryden, Oct. 1684. Lond. p. 805.

One of the prodigies of those times attended Peters going to the gibbet[16]; which,

magnifying the king's death? And is this worse than the doctrine of Montague, Sibthorp, and Manwaring, which set the king above all laws, and gave him a power to do as he list? Is this worse than the opinion of the judges in Charles the First and James the Second's time, whereby it was given for law, that the king might take from his subjects without consent of parliament, and dispense with the laws enacted by it? Far from it. For the depriving of the people of their rights and liberties, or the arguing for the expediency and justice of so doing, is a crime of a higher nature, than the murdering or magnifying the murder of the wisest and best prince under heaven. The loss of a good prince is greatly to be lamented; but it is a loss which may be repaired: whereas the loss of a people's liberties is seldom or ever to be recovered: and, consequently, the foe to the latter is much more detestable than the foe to the former.—But what was the punishment of the justifiers and magnifiers of the destruction of the rights and liberties of the people? Reprimands at the bar of one or other of the houses, fines, or imprisonment: not a man of them graced the gallows, though none, perhaps, would better have become it. Peters, therefore, suffered more than others, though he had done less to deserve it than others, which we may well suppose was contrary to his expectation.

[16] One of the prodigies of those times attended Peters going to the gibbet.] "Amongst the innumerable libels which they (the fanatics) published for two years together, those were most pregnant with sedi-

as it may afford some diversion to the reader, I shall give an account of.

tion, which they published concerning prodigies. Amongst these, all the prodigies in Livy were seen every day: two suns; ships sailing in the air; a bloody rainbow; it rained stones; a lamb with two heads; cathedral churches every where set on fire by lightning; an ox that spoke; a hen turned into a cock; a mule brought forth; five beautiful young men stood by the regicides while they suffered; a very bright star shone round their quarters that were stuck upon the city gates.—A certain person rejoicing at the execution of Harrison the regicide, was struck with a sudden palsy; another inveighing against Peters as he went to the gibbet, was torn and almost killed by his own tame favourite dog;—with an infinite number of such prodigious lies[a]." What ridiculous tales are here! How worthy to be preserved in a work called an history! The fanatics, if they reported these things, undoubtedly reported lies; though many of them, in great simplicity of heart, believed them. However, it is no great wisdom to relate idle stories to disgrace the understanding, or impeach the honesty of parties. For weak, credulous, superstitious men, are to be found on all sides. The reader, as he has a right, is welcome to laugh at these stories. And, to contribute to his mirth, I will add the following "relation, of a child born in London with a double or divided tongue, which the third day after it was born, cried a king, a king, and bid them bring it to the king.

[a] Parker's Hist. of his own Time, p. 23. translated by Newlin. Lond. 1727. 8vo.

He was weak, ignorant, and zealous, and consequently, a proper tool for ambitious, artful men to make use of[17]. All preachers

The mother of the child saith, it told her of all that happened in England since, and much more, which she dare not utter.—A gentleman, in the company, took the child in his arms, and gave it money; and asked what it would do with it? to which it answered aloud, that it would give it to the king." This story matches pretty well the others, and, I believe, will be thought equally as ridiculous, and yet the relater of it, (no less a man than bishop Bramhall) says, he cannot esteem it less than a miracle[a]. But let us away with these trifles; they are fit for nothing but ridicule, and can serve no purpose, unless it be to show the weakness of the human understanding, or the wickedness of the human heart: though these are many times, by other things, but too apparent.

[17] Weak, ignorant, and zealous, and, consequently, a proper tool for ambitious, artful men to make use of.] Peters's weakness, ignorance, and zeal, appear from his own confession, as well as the testimony of Whitlock before quoted. Now such a man as this was thoroughly qualified to be a tool, and could hardly fail of being employed for that purpose. Fools are the instruments of knaves: or, to speak softer, men of small understandings are under the direction and influence of those who possess great abilities. Let a man be ever so wise and ambitious, he never would gain the point he aims at, were all men possessed of equal talents with himself. For they would

[a] Ormond's Papers, by Carte, vol. II. p. 208.

ought to be warned by his fate, against go-

see his aims, and would refuse to be made use of as tools to accomplish them. They would look through his specious pretences, they would separate appearances from realities, and frustrate his selfish intentions: so that his skill would stand him in little stead.

But as the bulk of men are formed, nothing in the world is easier than to impose on them. They see not beyond the present moment, and take all for gospel that is told them. And of these, there are none who become so easily the dupes of crafty, ambitious men, as those who have attained just knowledge enough to be proud and vain. It is but to flatter them, and you become their master, and lead them what lengths you please. And if they happen to have active spirits, you may make them accomplish your designs, even without their being sensible of it. Those who have great things to execute, know this; and therefore are careful to have as many of these instruments as possible, to manage the multitude when there is occasion; for which end they carefully observe their foibles, and seemingly fall in with their notions, and thereby secure them. Hence it has come to pass, that real great men have paid very uncommon respect to those they despised. They knew they might be of use; and therefore were worth gaining.—Peters must necessarily have appeared in a contemptible light to Cromwell: but as his ignorance and zeal qualified him for business, which wiser and more moderate men would have declined, he was thought worthy of being caressed; and had that respect paid him, which was necessary to keep him tight to the cause. And, generally speaking, they have been men of Peters's

ing out of their province, and meddling

size of understanding, who have been subservient to the interests of aspiring statesmen, and the implements of those in power. Were not[a] Shaa and Pinker weak men, in assisting the then duke of Gloucester, protector, afterwards Richard the Third, to fix the crown on his own head? Armed with impudence, Shaa at Paul's Cross, declared the children of Edward the Fourth bastards; and Pinker at St. Mary's Hospital, sounded forth the praise of the protector: both so full, adds the historian, of tedious flattery, as no man's ear could abide them. What was John Padilla's priest[b], who did not fail every Sunday to recommend him, and the sedition of which he was the great promoter, with a Pater-Noster and an Ave-Maria? Indeed, ill usage from the rebels caused him to change his note soon after, and to advise his people to cry out, Long live the king, and let Padilla perish!

To come nearer home.—Was not Sacheverel a weak, ignorant man, to be made the tool of a party? Would any but such a one, have exposed himself by a nonsensical sermon, set the nation in a flame, and brought himself into trouble?—But he was in the hands of intriguing politicians, who spurred him on, and made him the instrument of raising a cry of an imaginary danger, which served many purposes to themselves, though detrimental to the nation.—And what character have our jacobite clergymen universally deserved? If we will not be uncharitable, we must impute their behaviour to ignorance, and the influence they have been under. For men of sense and penetration

[a] Speed's Hist. p. 902. fol. Lond. 1632. [b] Bayle's Dict. Article Padilla (John de).

with things, which no way belong to them[18].

could never have set themselves to infuse notions into their flocks, which have no other tendency than to inslave body and soul: and men uninfluenced, would not run the risk of the gallows, for the sake of nonsense and absurdity, as jacobitism really is. But they have been the dupes of wicked, artful, and ambitious men, who have blinded their understandings, and by flatteries and caresses, gained their affections; and consequently the poor wretches are the objects of pity.

So that Peters, we see, was as his brethren have been and are. His faults arose chiefly from his weakness, and his being in the hands of those who knew how to make use of him. Had he contented himself with obscurity, he had avoided danger; which indeed is the chief security for the virtue, ease, and welfare of men, in such a noisy, contentious world as this.

[18] All preachers ought to be warned by his fate, against going out of their province.] The business of the clergy is that of instructing the people in piety and virtue. If ever they meddle with civil matters, it ought to be only with an intent to promote peace and happiness, by exhorting princes to rule with equity and moderation, and subjects to obey with willingness and pleasure. This, I say, is what alone concerns them; and if they confine themselves within these bounds, they merit praise. But, if instead hereof they mix with civil factions, and endeavour to promote hatred, strife, and contention; if they aspire to bear rule, and attempt to embroil matters, in order to render themselves of some importance; they then become not only really contemptible, but likewise criminal.

"The clergy, as the marquis of Ormonde[a] justly observes, have not been happy to themselves or others, when they have aspired to a rule, so contrary to their function."—Nature never seems to have intended the clergy, any more than the gospel, for state-affairs. For men brought up in colleges, and little versed in the world, as they generally are, make wretched work when they come to intermeddle with secular matters.—To govern well, requires great knowledge of human nature, the particular interests, dispositions and tempers of the people one has to do with, the law of nations, and more especially the laws of the country. Great skill and address likewise are required to manage the different and contradictory tempers of men, and make them conspire to promote the public happiness; as likewise great practice in business, in order to dispatch it with speed and safety. And therefore it is evident, that the clergy, from the nature of their education, as well as their profession, cannot be qualified for it.—They should therefore seriously weigh their incapacity for civil affairs; and how inconsistent they are with the business, to which they have solemnly engaged to devote themselves. They should consider how contemptible and ridiculous they render themselves in the eyes of all wise and good men, when they engage in parties, and most hateful, when they stir up wars and tumults. They should have the dignity of their character before their eyes, and scorn to disgrace it, by letting themselves out to ambitious, self-interested men. These things they should do; and a very small degree of knowledge and reflection will enable them to keep themselves from this, which is one of the greatest blemishes which can be found in their character.—

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 457.

But, perhaps, they are cautioned in vain[19].

If this is not sufficient, let them call to their minds Peters: who, after having been sought to, and caressed by the most eminent personages, was obliged to skulk about privately; was seized by the officers of public justice; laden with infamy and reproach, and embowelled by the hangman.—He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

[19] Perhaps they are cautioned in vain.] No men in the world seem less willing to hearken to advice than the clergy. Puffed up with a conceit of their own knowledge and abilities, and being used to dictate uncontrouled from the pulpit, they with contempt hearken to instruction, and are uninfluenced by persuasion. For which reason, I say, perhaps they are cautioned in vain. Peters's fate will not deter them, but engage in factions they still will.——After the Restoration, the pulpits sounded loud with the doctrines of passive obedience and non-resistance; the whigs and presbyterians were represented as villains; the power of the church was magnified, and the regal power was represented as sacred as that of God himself. Then Sam. Parker and his fellows arose, full of rage and venom; who treated all who opposed them, with ill manners and severity. Then were Englishmen pronounced slaves, in effect, by Hicks in his Jovian; and then was the infamous Oxford decree framed, which was doomed to the flames, by the sentence of the most august assembly in the world, *anno* 1710.

The bishops stood firm by the duke of York; and the whole clergy, in a manner, damned the bill of exclusion. In short, such was their behaviour, that they fell under great contempt, and were treated with much severity.—Under James the Second, they acted the same

part; and would undoubtedly have continued his fast friends, had he not given liberty to the dissenters, and touched them in their most tender part, even that of their revenue, by thrusting in popish persons into their colleges. This alarmed them: they suddenly tacked about; wished heartily for the coming of the prince of Orange, and prayed for his success. He came and delivered them out of the hands of their enemies; but they could not be quiet and thankful. Numbers of them refused to own his government; many of them joined in measures to restore the tyrant James; and a great part did all that in them lay, to blacken and distress their deliverer.—Lesly, Sacheverel, &c. worked hard to inculcate on men's minds the danger of the church; the designs of the dissenters; the villany of the ministry, during the first and glorious part of queen Ann's reign; in which they were but too successful.—

When the protestant succession took place, it was railed at, and even cursed by these men, and many of them attempted to set up an abjured pretender. Their attempts however were vain: though for these their endeavours, parson Paul made his exit at the gallows, and the celebrated Atterbury died in exile.—What has been, and is the temper since, every one knows. The Oxford affair is too fresh in memory, to let us remain ignorant of the disposition of many of the clergy. They are of Peters's busy, meddling disposition; though, I hope, they will not merit his fate.

Far be it from me, to point these reflections at the whole body of the clergy. Numbers of them have been, and are men of great worth: who not only dignify their office, but add lustre to the human nature. He must have lost all sense of excellency, who is not struck with the generosity of Tillotson, the integrity of

Clarke, the Christian sentiments of Hoadley, the worth of Butler (on whose late advancement, I beg leave to congratulate the public) and the piety, humanity, and patriotism of Herring.

These, and many others have been ornaments of the body, to which they belong, and have never studied to embroil us, or promote a party-spirit among us. Rectitude and benevolence, piety, and self-government, have been their themes: these with uncommon abilities they have taught; and those who tread in their steps, cannot fail of being honoured now and for ever!—But those who make it their business to poison the minds of the people with factious and seditious discourses; those who censure their governors for actions, of which they are frequently no competent judges, and traduce and vilify every thing, right or wrong; those who join with the sworn foes of the best of princes, and strive to promote an interest incompatible with the public good, are the men, who deserve titles, which I do not care to give; and they may be certain, that though through the lenity of the present government they may escape unpunished, yet contempt will be their portion from all men of sense. For, when men pervert so excellent an office as that of the ministry, to the purposes of ambition and the lust of power, hardly any censure too severe can be cast on them.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE transcribing these Papers for the press, a very learned gentleman[a] has been so kind as to impart to me an account of Peters's writings (his Last Legacy excepted, from which a good deal has been inserted in this work) which I doubt not will be highly acceptable to the curious[1].

[1] Which I doubt not will be highly acceptable to the curious.] In April, 1646, he preached a sermon before both houses of parliament, the lord mayor and aldermen of London, and the assembly of divines, which was printed in quarto. In this sermon he expresses his desire that "some shorter way might be found to further justice; and that two or three friend-makers might be set up in every parish, without whose labour and leave, none should implead another." He proposed likewise that the Charter-House should be converted into an Hospital for lame soldiers.

In the same year 1646, he published at London, in a quarto pamphlet of fifteen pages, intitled, "Peters's last Report of the English Wars, occasioned by the importunity of a friend, pressing an answer to some queries:"

[a] The Reverend Mr. Birch, F.R.S.

As likewise a letter from col. Lockhart to secretary Thurloe, concerning Peters, which, as very characteristical of the man,

I. Why he was silent at the surrender of Oxford?

II. What he observed at Worcester, it being the last town in the king's hand?

III. What were best to be done with the army?

IV. If he had any expedient for the present difference?

V. What his thoughts were in relation to foreign states?

VI. How these late mercies and conquests might be preserved and improved?

VII. Why his name appears in so many books, not without blots, and he never wipe them off?

In this pamphlet he observes, p. 14. that he had lived about six years near that famous Scotsman, Mr. John Forbes; "with whom," says he, "I travelled into Germany, and enjoyed him in much love and sweetness constantly; from whom I never had but encouragement, though we differed in the way of our churches. Learned Amesius breathed his last breath into my bosom, who left his professorship in Frizeland, to live with me, because of my church's independency, at Rotterdam: he was my collegue and chosen brother to the church, where I was an unworthy pastor."

In 1647, he published at London, in quarto, a pamphlet of fourteen pages, intitled, "A Word for the Army, and two Words to the Kingdom, to clear the one and cure the other, forced in much plainness and brevity, from their faithful servant, Hugh Peters."

and containing some curious particulars relating to him, I cannot forbear giving at length[2].

It appears by a pamphlet, printed in 1651, written by R. V. of Gray's-Inn, and intitled, A Plea for the Common Laws of England, that it was written in answer to Mr. Peters's Good Work for a Good Magistrate, or a short Cut to great Quiet; in which Mr. Peters had proposed the extirpation of the whole system of our laws, and particularly recommended, that the old records in the Tower should be burnt, as the monuments of tyranny.—

[2] I cannot forbear giving at length.]

Colonel Lockhart to Secretary Thurloe[a].

" From Dunkirk, July 8-18, 1658.

" May it please your Lordship,

" I could not suffer our worthy friend, Mr. Peters, to come away from Dunkirk, without a testimony of the great benefits we have all received from him in this place, where he hath laid himself forth in great charity and goodness in sermons, prayers, and exhortations, in visiting and relieving the sick and wounded; and, in all these, profitably applying the singular talent God hath bestowed upon him to the chief ends, proper for our auditory: for he hath not only shewed the soldiers their duty to God, and pressed it home upon them, I hope to good advantage, but hath likewise acquainted them with their obligations of obedience to his highness's government, and affection to his person. He hath laboured amongst us here with

[a] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. VII. p. 249.

much good-will, and seems to enlarge his heart towards us, and care of us for many other things, the effects whereof I design to leave upon that providence which hath brought us hither. It were superfluous to tell your lordship the story of our present condition, either as to the civil government, works, or soldiery. He who hath studied all these more than any I know here, can certainly give the best account of them. Wherefore I commit the whole to his information, and beg your lordship's casting a favourable eye upon such propositions, as he will offer to your lordship for the good of this garrison. I am,

May it please your lordship, your most humble, faithful and obedient servant,

WILL. LOCKHART.

[This part is all written with Lockhart's own hand.]

"My Lord,

"Mr. Peters hath taken leave at least three or four times, but still something falls out, which hinders his return to England. He hath been twice at Bergh, and hath spoke with the cardinal[a] three or four times; I kept myself by, and had a care that he did not importune him with too long speeches. He returns, loaden with an account of all things here, and hath undertaken every man's business. I must give him that testimony, that he gave us three or four very honest sermons; and if it were possible to get him to mind preaching, and to forbear the troubling himself with other things, he would certainly prove a very fit minister for soldiers. I hope he cometh well satisfied from this place. He hath often insinuated to me his

[a] Mazarin.

desire to stay here, if he had a call. Some of the officers also have been with me to that purpose; but I have shifted him so handsomely, as, I hope, he will not be displeased: for I have told him, that the greatest service he can do us, is to go to England, and carry on his propositions, and to own us in all our other interests, which he hath undertaken with much zeal."—

THE END.

AN

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF

James I.

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

PREFACE.

The design of the following sheets is to give a fuller and more distinct view of the character of King *James* the First, than has ever yet been exhibited by any writer. It is readily acknowledged that this character is, in itself, a very mean and despicable subject; but as it was attended with very extensive and important consequences both in his and the succeeding reigns; so it is humbly presumed that an attempt to illustrate that period of *English* history which falls within the plan of this subject, will meet with a favourable acceptance from the public.

There are inserted in these papers a great number of curious and interesting facts, entirely omitted by our historians, who seem to have very little consulted those original writers, and state papers from whence the following account is chiefly compiled.

The author does not think it necessary to make any apology for the freedom of his reflections; but only to declare that they were not

made for the sake of pleasing or displeasing any sect or party in church or state; but wholly intended to serve the cause of liberty and truth. He professes himself inviolably attached to the civil and religious liberties of mankind; and therefore hopes the reader will indulge him in that warmth of his resentment, that honest indignation, that is naturally raised by every instance of persecution, tyranny, and oppression; provided he has not any where expressed himself in a manner unworthy of the character of a gentleman or a christian.

For the rest it is hoped that the curious will find some entertainment, if not information, in this account; and that they will pardon the faults and imperfections of it, for the sake of its general tendency and design.

One thing the judicious and impartial reader will, at least, not be displeased with, viz. that as the authorities here quoted are the most authentic in themselves, so the manner of quoting them is the most unexceptionable and just, that is, in the very words, letters and points of the respective authors, by which the reader may be infallibly certain that their sense is rightly represented.

AN

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT

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JAMES I.

KING OF GREAT BRITAIN.

JAMES STUART, the sixth of that name in Scotland, and first in England, was born June 19, 1566. He was the son of Henry Lord Darnley (son to Matthew earl of Lennox, by Margaret Dowglas daughter to the widow of James the fourth, who was the eldest daughter to Henry the seventh of England) and Mary queen of Scots, the only child of James the fifth, king of Scots, who was son of James the fourth and Margaret his queen, the said eldest daughter of Henry the seventh of England. The murther of a favourite secretary[1] when she was great

[1] A favourite secretary, &c.] This was the famous "David Rixio, or Riscio, an Italian, a merry fellow and good musician, who was taken notice of

with child, in her presence, had such an

first of all on account of his voice. He was drawn in (says Melvil) to sing sometimes with the rest, and afterwards, when the queen's French secretary retired himself to France, he obtained the said office. And as he thereby entered in greater credit, so he had not the prudence how to manage the same rightly. For frequently, in presence of the nobility, he would be publickly speaking to her, even when there were the greatest conventions of the states. Which made him to be much envied and hated, especially when he became so great, that he presented all signatours to be subscribed by her majesty. So that some of the nobility would frown upon him, others would shoulder him and shut him by, when they entered the queen's chamber, and found him always speaking with her. For those who had great actions of law, new infestments to be taken, or who desired to prevail against their enemies at court, or in law-suits before the session, addressed themselves to him, and depended upon him, whereby in short time he became very rich[a]." Here was great familiarity we see, and such as could not be much to the credit of a sovereign princess. For 'tis expected that such a one should maintain her rank, and scorn to stoop to those who have neither birth nor breeding. But Mary gave herself up to David, and was advised by him in things of the utmost importance. This appears from Melvil, who knew them well, and likewise from Spotswood. For both these assure us, he was the person, the only

[a] Memoirs of Sir James Melvil, p. 54. fol. Lond. 1683. See likewise the History of the Church of Scotland by archbp. Spotswood, p. 189, 193. edit. 3d. fol. Lond. 1668.

effect on this her son, that even through his

person who prevailed on the queen to marry Henry Lord Darnley. She at first disrelished the proposal, but thro' means of Rixio, "she took ay the longer the better liking of him, and at length determined to marry him[a]." No wonder then common fame was not favourable in her reports of Mary, and that the envious and ill-natured hinted things reproachful to her virtue, I pretend not to say any thing criminal passed between the queen and her secretary (though her affair, after her husband's death, with Bothwell, would induce one to suspect her not incapable of a familiarity so dishonourable); but I think, all men must allow that things were not so decently managed between them as they ought. Persons of an elevated rank, should strive not only to be good, but to appear so; and careful to act in so pure and unexceptionable a manner, that envy itself may not be able to blast their reputation.——However Mary had little regard to what the world said. She continued her favour to her fiddling secretary, 'till a violent death put an end to it, to her great horror and amazement. Rixio, though he had procured the queen for Darnley, could not long continue in his favour; suspicions being put into his head, he consented to his murther, which was perpetrated in the following manner: "At six o'clock at night, when the queen was at supper in her closet, a number of armed men entered within the court, and going up into the closet (where the king was leaning on the queen's chair) overthrew the table, candles, meat and dishes. Rixio took the queen about the waste, crying for mercy, but George Dowglas, plucked

[a] Melvil, p. 55. and Spotswood, p. 189.

life he could not bear the sight of a drawn

out the king's dagger, and struck Rixio first with it, leaving it sticking in him. He making great shrieks and cries, was rudely snatched from the queen, who could not prevail either with threats or entreaties to save him. But he was forcibly drawn forth of the closet, and slain in the outer hall, and her majesty kept as a captive[a]."——But they had no commandment from the contrivers so to kill him, but to bring him to public execution. "And good it had been for them so to have done, or then to have taken him in another place, and at another time than in the queen's presence. For besides the great peril of abortion which her fear might have caused, the false aspersions cast upon her fame and honour by that occasion, were such as she could never digest, and drew on all the pitiful accidents that afterwards ensued[b]." The fright and terror the queen was in at the sight of the drawn sword, so far influenced the child in her womb, that, "Sir Kenelm Digby assures us, he had such an aversion to a naked sword all his life-time, that he could not see one without a great emotion of spirits; and though otherwise couragious enough, he could not over-master his passions in this particular. I remember, adds he, when he dub'd me knight, in the ceremony of putting a naked sword upon my shoulder, he could not endure to look upon it, but turned his face another way; insomuch that in lieu of touching my shoulder, he had almost thrust the point into my eyes, had not the duke of Buckingham guided his hand aright[c]."

[a] Melvil, p. 64. [b] Spotswood, p. 195. [c] Digby of the Power of Sympathy, p. 188. at the end of his Discourse on Bodies. 4to. Lond. 1669.

sword. He was placed in the throne after his mother's forced resignation, July 25, 1567, being but little above a year old. He had the famous George Buchanan for his tutor, by whom he seems to have profited little, and towards whose memory he had a great aversion[z]. During his minority the king-

[z] The famous George Buchanan for his tutor, by whom he seems to have profited little, and towards whose memory he had a great aversion.] Buchanan's merit needs not to be celebrated by me. His fame as a polite writer, and a man of deep learning and solid judgment, is established on the most lasting foundations[a]. Even those who dislike most of all his principles, refuse not to give him his due praise. And I need not be afraid to assert that his writings will be read and admired as long as learning in this part of the world shall live. Melvil says, "he was a man of notable endowments for his learning and knowledge in Latin poesie, much honoured in other countries, pleasant in conversation, rehearsing at all occasions moralities short and instructive, whereof he had abundance, inventing where he wanted[b]." A tutor this, worthy a great prince, and fit to form the mind to virtue and politeness! for I doubt not but he discharged with honour the duty of his trust, and did what in him lay to inspire his pupil with just opinions, and elegant sentiments. But his labour was in vain. For it does not appear that James improved any thing by his master, or studied at all to copy after him, for his writings are wholly pedantic; his style low and mean; his arguments taken from those barbarians the school-

[a] See Thuanus's judgment of him in Bayle's Dictionary, article Buchanan, note (H). [b] Melvil, p. 125. See also Spotswood, p. 325.

dom had several regents, viz. his uncle

men; and his method of treating his adversaries was after the manner of your country controvertists, inspired with the most fervent zeal. Abundant proof of these assertions will be found in the extracts I shall give of some of his writings in the ensuing notes. However, not contented to disgrace his tutor by his want of improvement, he treated him with contempt also and reproach. Thus for instance, when the authority of Buchanan, for resisting kings, was alleged by cardinal Perron, James replies, "Buchanan I reckon and rank among poets, not among divines, classical or common. If the man hath burst out here and there into some terms of excess, or speech of bad temper; that must be imputed to the violence of his humour, and heat of his spirit[a]."——What a contemptible way of speaking of a tutor is this, more especially of so great a man as Buchanan? Had Buchanan been ever so wrong in his opinion, the least sense of decency or gratitude should have restrained his pupil from speaking of him after such a manner. Next to parents, tutors (if they have discharged their parts well) have always been thought to have deserved honour*; and

* Dii majorum umbris tenuem & sine pondere terram,
Spirantesque crocos, & in urna perpetuum ver,
Qui præceptorem sancti voluere parentis
Esse loco. Juv. Sat. VII. v. 207.

In peace, ye shades of our great grandsires rest,
No heavy earth your sacred bones molest:
Eternal spring, and rising flow'rs adorn
The relicks of each venerable urn,
Who pious reverence to their tutors paid,
As parents honour'd and as Gods obey'd.

Charles Dryden.

[a] The Works of the most high and mighty prince James by the grace of God, &c. published by James bishop of Winton, 1616. Lond. fol. p. 480.

the earl of Murray, his grandfather the earl of Lennox, and the earls of Mar and Morton; with the latter of whom the no-

those who have refused to give it, have been branded with baseness and ingratitude. For to form the mind to knowledge and virtue, to teach youth prudence, self-government, and proper behaviour, is a work of labour and merit; and such as perform it are entitled to gratitude and respect.——But in another place James plainly discovers his hatred and aversion to the memory of his instructor; for he stiles his History an infamous invective: "I would have you, says he, to his son prince Henry, to be well versed in authentic histories, and especially in our own histories:——I mean not of such infamous invectives as Buchanan's or Knox's chronicles: and if any of these infamous libels remain unto your days, use the law upon the keepers thereof[a]." I will leave the reader to make his own remarks on the baseness of this passage, and the littleness of that soul that was capable of writing it concerning a preceptor. I will conclude this note by observing that the probable causes of this hatred of the memory of Buchanan were the part he had acted against his mother; the principles of his history, which were opposite to the notions of regal power entertained by James; and the great awe in which he held him in his youth, according to Melvil[b]. I would have it carefully observed, that this history stiled by James an infamous invective, is said by archbishop Spotswood to be "penned with such judgment and eloquence as no country can shew a better[c]."

[a] The Works of the most high and mighty prince James by the grace of &c. published by James bishop of Winton, 1616. Lond. fol. p. 176.

[b] Melvil, p. 125. [c] Spotswood, p. 325.

bility being dissatisfied, he was obliged to quit the regency, and James entered upon the government March 12, 1578. Too soon, it may easily be supposed, for his own honour, or the welfare of his subjects. He was greatly in the power of his favourites the duke of Lennox and the earl of Arran, through whose instigations he performed many unpopular actions[3]. Where-

[3] He was greatly in the power of his favourites, the duke of Lennox and the earl of Arran, &c.] The duke of Lennox was cousin-german to James's father, the earl of Arran was captain James Stuart, promoted to that dignity at the expence of the house of Hamilton, unjustly deprived of it. "The duke of Lennox was led by evil counsel and wrong informations, whereby he was moved to meddle in such hurtful and dangerous courses, that the rest of the nobility became jealous of his intentions, and feared their estates. As for the earl of Arran, they detested his proceedings, and esteemed him the worst and most insolent instrument that could be found out, to wrack king, kirk and country. The duke had been tolerable, had he happened upon as honest counsellors, as he was well inclined of himself: but he wanted experience, and was no ways versed in the state of the country, nor brought up in our religion, which by time he might have been brought to have embraced. But the earl of Arran was a scorner of religion, presumptuous, ambitious, covetous, careless of the commonwealth, a despiser of the nobility and of all honest men[a]." Hopeful coun-

[a] Melvil, p. 131.

upon being seized by the earls of Mar and Gowry, with others of the nobility, as he returned from hunting, and conveyed to Ruthven castle, they obtained a charge for the duke of Lennox to depart the country, and for the confinement of the earl of Arran[4]. This was followed by a proclama-

sellors these for a young king! and admirably fit for governing a kingdom. And yet these were the men who carried all before them, and obtained honours and estates by wholesale. Arran from a private gentleman "was made gentleman of the bed-chamber, knighted, made a privy counsellor, and tutor of Arran. A few weeks after he was made captain of his majesty's guards, and created earl of Arran[a]." Lennox "in a few days after his appearance at court, had a grant of the lordship of Arbroath, then he was created earl of Lennox, governor of Dumbarton castle, captain of the guard, first gentleman of the bedchamber, and great chamberlain of Scotland, and duke of Lennox[b]." ——These sudden promotions to honour, and places of profit to such men, must necessarily have been very unpopular and distasteful, and could not but be highly resented. However 'tis but justice to James, to acquaint the reader that he was very young, and consequently most easily drawn aside by those who had influence over him; and therefore more excusable than he was in misplacing his favours afterwards, as he almost always did.

[4] Being seized by the earls of Mar, &c. they ob-

[a] Lives and Characters of the Officers of the Crown and State of Scotland, by George Crawfurd, Esq; p. 137. fol. Lond. 1736. [b] Id. p. 331.

tion from the king, discharging the commissions which he had formerly given them, and declaring that in so doing he acted not by compulsion. However, having regained his liberty, he turned out of place those who had been enemies to his favour-

tained a charge for the duke of Lennox to depart the country, and for the confinement of the earl of Arran, &c.] "As the king was returning from stag-hunting in Athole, in his way towards Dumferling, he was invited by the earl of Gowry to his house of Ruthven, near Perth. The earl, who was at the head of the conspiracy, instantly sent to advertise his friends of what had happened. Whereupon several of the discontented nobility, and all those that were in the English interest at hand, repaired to Ruthven, where without any ceremony they resolved to detain the king, and keep him prisoner. The next day[a] when the king was essaying to get out, they stopt him; wherefore growing into a passion and weeping, Sir Thomas Lyon boldly, though rudely, told him, it was no matter for his tears, better that bairns greet than bearded men[b]." After they had him in custody they presented a supplication to him, "representing the false accusations, calumnies, oppressions and persecutions they had suffered for two years, by means of the duke of Lennox, and the earl of Arran, the like whereof were never heretofore borne in Scotland." Upon this representation, the king, sore against his will, sent orders to the duke to leave the kingdom, who obeying, died soon after at Paris, and the earl was

[a] August 23, 1582. [b] Crawfurd, p. 332. Spotswood, p. 320. See also Melvil, p. 129, &c.

ites, and insisted on such of the nobility's asking pardon as had been concerned in the affair of Ruthven; which causing a confederacy and a rising, issued in the death of the earl of Gowry [5], in revenge of which,

confined for a time. Before this a proclamation had been issued forth, "declaring that it was his own voluntary act to abide at Perth; and that the noblemen and others that attended him, had done nothing but what their duties obliged them unto, and which he took for a good service performed both to himself and the commonwealth[a]." But all this was a mere act of dissimulation, and the effect of constraint. As soon as he was at liberty he returned to the same courses, and behaved after his wonted manner. For favourites he must have, and so their pleasure was consulted, no matter how the kingdom was pleased.

[5] Having obtained his liberty, he insisted on such of the nobility's asking pardon as were concerned in the affair of Ruthven, &c.] James was never a man of his word. We see just now, that, by proclamation, he had allowed what was done at Ruthven to be good service, and he moreover had desired the kirk "to find it good for their parts, and to ordain the ministers and commissioners of every shire to publish the same to their parishioners, and to get the principal gentlemen's subscription to maintain the same[b]." But no sooner had he got his liberty, but he acted quite differently from what he had declared to be his sentiments. Arran was introduced again into court, "was made Chancellor, captain of the castles of Edinburgh and

[a] Spotswood, p. 321. [b] Melvil, p. 183.

as was said, his son engaged in the conspiracy so much talked of, and variously cen-

Stirling, and ruled so as to make the whole subjects to tremble under him, and every man to depend upon him, daily inventing and seeking out new faults against diverse, to get their escheats, lands, benefices." He wrought so far with the king, that a proclamation was published, "condemning the detaining his majesty's person at Ruthven as a fact most treasonable. Yet his majesty declared, that he was resolved to forget and forgive that offence, providing the actors and assisters do shew themselves penitent for the same, ask pardon in due time, and do not provoke him by their unlawful actions hereafter, to remember that attempt[a]!" Whereupon divers noblemen and others withdrew from the court, for fear, to some place of security; for they well knew that their destruction was aimed at. Whereupon the principal of them were ordered to confinement, which they not obeying, were denounced rebels[b]. This was shocking behaviour, and enough to provoke the most patient men to take a severe revenge; for the king's word was no security, his promise could not be relied on, and no man was safe who affronted his favourite, who made a mere dupe of his master, and sacrificed his honour on all occasions. A sure proof this of James's weakness, and a sufficient indication of what the world was to expect from him hereafter; for the tempers and dispositions of men are pretty much the same through life. As they are in youth, so are they in reality in age, though they may know better how to gloss and disguise.——By this treatment of those concerned in the Ruthven affair,

[a] Crawfurd, p. 139. Spotswood, p. 326. Id. ib.

sured; which terminated in the ruin of his family.

several of the nobility were induced to enter into an association, for reforming abuses, securing religion, and the preservation of the king's person and estate, among whom was the earl of Gowry, who being taken, tried and condemned, was executed for treason. "His majesty (says Melvil) had no intention of taking his life, but the earl of Arran was fully resolved to have his lands, and therefore to make a party to assist him in that design, he engaged to divide them with several others, upon condition that they would assist him in the design of ruining him; which afterwards he did, having by this means procured their consent and votes[a]." What weakness and feebleness of government was this! Arran was in effect king, whilst James bore the name, and under the royal authority committed the most unjust actions; for all agree that Gowry had hard measure dealt him.——In time the Gowry family was restored to honour and estate, but, as historians tell us, nothing could allay the revenge of the two eldest sons, for their father's blood, but the death of the king, which they attempted to have taken away at the earl's own house, August 5, 1600[b].——But they both lost their lives in the attempt, and ruined thereby their family; for their houses were demolished, their estates confiscated, and the whole family, by act of parliament, prohibited to carry the name of Ruthven. The 5th of August was likewise ordered to be kept yearly in remembrance of this deliverance.——Whether there was any such conspiracy of the Gowries

[a] Melvil, p. 156. Spotswood, p. 332. Crawfurd, p. 390.
[b] Crawfurd, p. 390. Spotswood, p. 458.

Mary, queen of Scots, having sentence of death pronounced on her, Oct. 11, 1586, at Fotheringhay, by the commissioners of queen Elizabeth, notwithstanding her refus-

against the king, or whether it was only a pretence, in order to palliate the murther of them, has been very much debated. Spotswood believed it: it was generally received as truth by the courtiers at the time it happened; and the assisters of the king received honours and rewards[a]. Burnet (no way prejudiced in favour of the king) gives credit to it; and Mr. Crawfurd tells us, that after what the earl of Cromarty hath lain together in his historical account of the conspiracies by the earls of Gowry against king James, he hopes few or none will suspect, far less doubt its truth and reality[b]. I hope I shall not be thought to be "maliciously set against the royal family, or the[c] great king who was more immediately concerned in this affair," if I give the reasons that may be assigned for the doubting concerning the truth of the king's narration. I could not act the part of a faithful historian without it, and therefore must beg the reader's pardon for detaining him a little longer on this subject.

1. We are to observe, that the next day after this happened, the ministers were called together at Edinburgh, and desired to convene their people, and give thanks unto God for the king's deliverance: but they by no persuasion could be moved to do it[d].

2. Though most of the ministers being hereupon commanded to leave the city in 24 hours, and forbid

[a] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. I. p. 22. Dutch edit. 12mo.
[b] Crawfurd, p. 390. [c] Crawfurd's epithet and expressions.
[d] Spotswood, p. 460. Calderwood, p. 444.

ing to answer and be tried; and the sentence being confirmed by the English parliament, and their desire moreover added, that it might be put in execution; James

to preach in his majesty's dominions, on pain of death, complied, owning themselves convinced of the truth of the conspiracy; yet we find Mr. Robert Bruce saying, he would reverence his majesty's reports of that accident, but could not say he was persuaded of the truth of it[a].

3. Osborn tells us, no Scotchman you could meet beyond sea but did laugh at it, and the Peripatetic politicians said, the relation in print did murder all possibility of credit. But I will not (adds he) wade farther in this business, not knowing how dangerous the bottom may prove, being by all men's relations foul and bloody, having nothing to palliate it but jealousy on the one side, and fear of the other[b]. And indeed the relation of this affair in Spotswood is confused and marvellous. The drawing the king to Perth; the getting him from dinner to examine a stranger; the discourse of Gowry's brother with him; and his stout and gallant behaviour (which in no other part of his life appeared); and his causing the two brothers to be killed, when he might with the same ease have secured them; the denials of Gowry's servants of their knowledge of the affair; and the tale of the earl's girdle, are circumstances which are not easily to be swallowed by the inquisitive or sceptical.

4. Burnet himself allows, that this conspiracy was charged at that time by the puritans in Scotland on the

[a] Spotswood, p. 461. [b] Works of Francis Osborn, Esq; p. 535. 8vo. Lond. 1673. See also Calderwood, p. 451.

ordered it to be represented to queen Elizabeth how unjust he held that proceeding against his mother, and that it did neither agree with the will of God, who prohibited

king, as a contrivance of his to get rid of that earl, who was then held in great esteem[a]. And afterwards he says, it was not easy to persuade the nation of the truth of this conspiracy: for eight years before that time, king James, on a secret jealousy of the earl of Murray, then esteemed the handsomest man in Scotland, set on the marquis of Huntley, who was his mortal enemy, to murder him; and by a writing all in his own hand, he promised to save him harmless for it. He set the house in which he was on fire, and the earl flying away, was followed and murdered, and Huntley sent Gordon of Buckey with the news to the king. Soon after, all who were concerned in that vile fact were pardoned, which laid the king open to much censure: and this made the matter of Gowry to be less believed.

5. Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Nov. 15, 1600, from London, writes, "Out of Scotland we hear there is no good agreement between the king of Scots and his wife, and many are of opinion, that the discovery of some affection between her and the earl Gowry's brother, (who was killed with him) was the truest cause and motife of all that tragedy[b]."

And Mr. Winwood, in a letter to secretary Cecyll,

[a] Burnet, p. 22. See a very honourable character of Gowry, from Sir Henry Neville, to secretary Cecyll, in Winwood's State Papers, vol. I. p. 156.

[b] Winwood's Memorials of Affairs of State in the Reigns of Elizabeth and King James I. vol. I. p. 274. fol. Lond. 1725.

to touch his anointed ones; nor with the law of nations, that an absolute prince should be sentenced and judged by subjects; that if she would be the first to give

from Paris, dated 17 May, 1601, O. S. says, "The ambassador of Scotland hath been advertized of a dangerous practice against the Scots king; that lately one called Glarnet, hath been sent out of Scotland, with letters to Bothwell, to hasten home with diligence, where he should find sufficient assistance. The principal party who employed this party is the Queen of Scotland.——And letters have been intercepted out of England from master Gray, that the death of Gowry should shortly be revenged[a]." These passages compared, may possibly give the reader some light in this affair. A gallant, or a supposed one slain, was cause sufficient to induce a lady to give her husband trouble, and nothing so likely as this to excite her to revenge.—These are the reasons which may induce some persons to doubt about the truth of Gowry's conspiracy; whether they are sufficient the considerate reader will determine. However, one reflection naturally arises from this subject, viz. that the people entertained but a very poor opinion of James's veracity and honesty. The ministers, we see, could not be induced to give thanks for his deliverance, out of a distrust of his account, till fear of their own safety brought them to a compliance; and the general belief of the people of that nation, both at home and abroad, was, that 'twas mere contrivance in order to screen himself from

[a] Spotswood, p. 326

that pernicious example of profaning her own and other princes diadems, she should remember that both in nature and honour it concerned him to be revenged of so great an indignity; which if he should not do, he should peril his credit both at home and abroad[a].—But these threats were not regarded by Elizabeth, nor were they of any service to his mother; for she was executed in pursuance to a warrant directed to secretary Davidson[6], the seventh of February

the guilt and infamy he must otherwise have lain under. Unhappy situation this! truly worthy of commiseration. For a prince believed false, treacherous, and bloody, must be despised, hated and contemned, and can expect nothing but unwilling obedience from his subjects. And it must be confessed, James had given but too much reason to them, to view him in these lights.

[6] She was executed in pursuance of a warrant, &c.] The sentence passed on her was approved by the English parliament, and earnestly pressed by it to be put in execution. Nor was any one more earnest in the matter than Elizabeth herself; for she deemed Mary's life incompatible with her own safety, and therefore determined to shorten it. But it was a matter of much delicacy, and what she would have been glad to have been excused from appearing in. She would

[a] Spotswood, p. 351.

following: though Elizabeth pretended it was quite contrary to her intentions, seemed

fain therefore have had her put out of the way by Sir Amias Paulet, and Sir Drue Drury, and had it hinted to them by the secretaries Davidson and Walsingham. But they were too wise to be caught, and too honest to execute so barbarous a deed, and therefore boldly refused, to the queen's no small mortification. Mr. Tindal seems to intimate something of a doubt about the genuineness of the letters here referred to[a], but I think without reason. For to me they have all the marks of genuineness, and are perfectly agreeable to that dexterity and management for which Elizabeth was so famous.——When these arts failed, the warrant in the hands of Davidson, signed by the queen, was made use of by the council, the queen being not openly acquainted with it, and Mary, by means of it, had her head severed from her body.—So that James's conduct could not save his mother, nor could Henry III. of France, by his ambassador, respite the execution of her sentence, but a violent death was her fate. But, if what historians tell us is true, 'tis no wonder Elizabeth paid so little regard to the solicitations in the behalf of the unfortunate Mary. For 'tis affirmed, that Bellievre, the French ambassador, whatever in public he pretended, had private orders to solicit the death of the queen[b]. And Gray, the Scotch envoy, on this occasion, is said likewise in private, to advise the making her away, saying, a dead woman bites not[c].

[a] Rapin's History of England, translated by Tindal, vol. II. p. 134, in the notes. fol. Lond. 1733. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 122. [c] Id. p. 131. Winwood's State Paper, vol. I. p 11.

greatly grieved at it, and turned out, and fined the secretary by reason of it[7].

[7] Though Elizabeth pretended it was contrary to her intentions, and turned out, and fined the secretary by reason of it.] The execution of Mary could not be concealed, nor was it thought proper by Elizabeth to justify it. She therefore threw the blame upon poor Davidson, and made him suffer for being an instrument in bringing about what she most of all desired. She denied not, but she commanded him to draw a warrant under the great seal for the queen of Scots' execution; but after it was done, she seemed angry: however she left it in his hands, without telling him what he should do with it. Whereupon the council being consulted by Davidson, it was unanimously resolved to execute the warrant, and accordingly it was carried to Fotheringay, and produced the desired effect. Elizabeth, in the mean time, pretended she had changed her mind; but none of her counsellors talked to her upon the subject, or attempted to hinder the execution, as they certainly would have done, had they not been satisfied in her intentions. But when the wished-for event took place, then Elizabeth pretended great sorrow, and professed her disinclination towards it; and to convince the world thereof, she wrote to the Scotch king, by a cousin of hers, and had Davidson cited into the Star-chamber, where he was fined £10,000, and imprisoned during the queen's pleasure. Though "she herself could not deny, but that which she laid to his charge was done without hope, fear, malice, envy, or any respect of his own, but merely for her safety both of state and person[a]."

[a] Cabala, p. 232. fol. Lond. 1663.

Indeed Elizabeth and her ministers managed James as they pleased; they fully

This sentence on Davidson was very severe, and carried the dissimulation to a great pitch, for the man lost his post, and lay'd long in prison. So hard and difficult is the service of princes! So dangerous complying with their inclinations, for there is no laying obligations upon them; and after you have done all to please and oblige them, to serve a turn, or even gratify a present humour, they will discard or ruin you: for they think their subjects made for them; that 'tis a favour to employ them; and that they are of no worth, any farther than they promote their designs. If people therefore knew when they were well, they would be thankful for a peaceable retreat, and strive not to mix in counsels with those whose aim it is to outwit and mischief each other; nor would they be desirous of climbing up so high, as that a fall is fatal. But the ambitious in vain are cautioned to check their career. Nothing but some sad miscarriage, disappointment or disgrace, will teach them the needful lessons of humility and moderation, or cause them to enjoy contentedly the blessings of private life. Before I take my leave of this affair, I will observe that from the proceedings against Mary, it appears, that the queen and her parliament had no notion of such a sacredness in the persons of princes, as to render them unaccountable to any earthly tribunal. For here is a sovereign princess, tried, condemned, and executed, with the approbation, yea in pursuance of the request of the parliament; and though Elizabeth, to save appearances, feigned sorrow and indignation at the execution, yet no one has been so hardy as to put into

understanding his temper, councils, and designs[8]: so that they acted as they thought

her mouth a sentence tending to condemn the lawfulness of it. For she was too wise and understanding to have done it; nor could any who knew her character suppose her capable of it. This doctrine was left to her successor, who had weakness enough to declare expressly, "that kings were accountable to God only[a]." A doctrine big with mischief, and fit for nothing but to make tyrants. But of this I shall have occasion to speak more hereafter.

[8] Elizabeth and her ministers managed James as they pleased, and understood his temper, councils and designs.] It appears from Melville, that the English were thoroughly acquainted with the temper and behaviour of the king, and had those about him who took every opportunity to insinuate those notions into him, which were most acceptable to Elizabeth. "Wootton the ambassador became one of his most familiar minions, waiting upon him at all fixed pastimes[b]." And Sir Richard Wigmore "was particularly instructed by Walsingham, in all the proper methods to gain upon the king's confidence, and to observe and give an account of all he saw in him; which he did very faithfully[c]." And though James little thought it, his most secret actions were known to the English ministry, and all his transactions abroad, how privately soever they were carried. For Elizabeth's ambassadors had a very watchful eye over the Scotch; and what by address, what by considerations of religion, but chiefly by money, they became acquainted with every thing

[a] King James's Works, p. 529. [b] Melvil, p. 161.
[c] Burnet, vol. I. p. 5. and Welwood's Memoirs, p. 9. 8vo. Lond. 1710.

fit, without any regard to him, any farther than mere compliments. For the fear of

James was negotiating every where. Thus for instance, Sir Henry Neville, though at Paris, had a watchful eye over the transactions of the Scotch king at Rome, and made himself master of them, though they were managed with the greatest caution[a]: and he was apprized also of the negotiation of baron Ogilby in Spain, who offered in the name of "James to be reconciled to the apostolic see, and to enter into a confederacy with that crown, in order to rescue himself from the dangers he was exposed to from Elizabeth, on whom he offered, (upon condition of being assisted with twelve thousand men armed and paid all the time the war should last, and five hundred thousand ducats to begin it) to make war immediately, and declare himself her enemy[b]." So that from hence it appears that Elizabeth had him fast, and could have exposed him to the resentments of the English and Scottish nations whenever she pleased. For as Walsingham, Burnet says, "thought the king was either inclined to turn papist, or to be of no religion[c];" so these negotiations, had they been published, would have brought over multitudes of others to the same opinion; the consequence of which to him might have been fatal. No wonder then James's threatnings were little heeded: he was well known by the English court, and to know him was to stand in no awe of him; for big as he would talk on occasion, fighting was his known aversion. Indeed, after he came into England, he was weak enough to pretend that he had the direction of the

[a] Winwood's State Paper, p. 145, 146. The letters are well worth reading at large. [b] Winwood, vol. I. p. 5, 6, 7. [c] Burnet, vol. I. p. 6,

losing the succession to the English crown, and the pension he enjoyed from Elizabeth, made him in all things obedient to her will[9].

English affairs during his predecessor's reign: had this been so, they would have been managed like his own in Scotland, and as matters afterwards were by him in England. Whereas every body knows, never councils were better conducted, never more glory by any administration acquired, than by Elizabeth's, and therefore he could have had no hand in the direction. That in the latter part of that queen's reign, he cultivated a correspondence with some of her courtiers, and endeavoured by means of them to secure the succession, is true: and he was successful in his applications. But still he guided not, but was guided, and as carefully watched as could be; and, perhaps, a knowledge of his weakness, love of ease, and aversion to business, did not a little contribute to engage some of the great ones in his favour; who hoped that under him they might acquire honours, power, and wealth, in which they were not much mistaken. For a prince of great abilities, how valuable soever to a nation, is not the delight of self-interested statesmen. He will see with his own eyes, will judge of men as they deserve, and reward only the wise and good; and therefore under such an one little is to be hoped for by them.

[9] The fear of losing the succession to the English crown, and the pension he enjoyed from Elizabeth, made him in all things obedient to her will.] James loved not Elizabeth, for she kept him under restraint; protected his nobility against him; fomented divisions in his kingdom; and had caused his mother to be put

He was not much regarded in Scotland by his nobility, which was owing, perhaps,

to death. In short, he looked on her as the cause of all his troubles. These things he strongly complains of in his reasons for his reconcilement with Rome, and confederacy with Spain[a]. But yet notwithstanding the grudge he bore her, he refused her nothing, nor dared to contradict her. For he had a yearly pension from the queen, I think, ten thousand pounds, the loss of which he could not well bear; which was increased in the year 1601, two thousand more, upon his request. "Her majesty (says Cecyll) promising to continue it, as long as he shall make it appear to the world, that he is willing to deserve her extraordinary care and kindness towards him[b]." This was a good round sum at that time of day in Scotland, and therefore it behoved James to make it appear that he deserved it, by complying with her, whose bounty he so largely shared in. But that which kept James most in awe was the fear of losing the succession to the English crown. His being next in blood (though afterwards much talked of by him) was no security; had he behaved displeasingly to Elizabeth, and once made her heartily angry, 'tis more than probable he would have died in his own country. For by a statute of the 13th year of her reign, it was made high treason for any person to affirm, "that the reigning prince with the authority of the parliament, is not able to limit and bind the crown, and the descent and inheritance thereof." This was the rod which was held over James, and made him fear and tremble. For he could never get himself declared by Elizabeth her successor, and he

[a] Winwood, vol. I. p. 2. [b] Id. p. 325.

as much to their restless temper, as his weakness[10]; nor had he power to govern

knew full well what she was capable of doing when provoked. He therefore stifled his anger, dissembled his resentments, and did not publicly do any thing disobliging to Elizabeth. His private behaviour in his negotiations with Rome and Spain, could not but be unacceptable. But she probably despised them, and took care to frustrate them, and contented herself with letting the whole world see that she was mistress of the Scotch king, and stood in no fear of what he might do. So that the passion with which he received the news of his mother's death, and the threats he uttered were but mere words, and he was cooled down presently by Walsingham's letter, "representing how much his pretending to revenge it, would prejudice him in the eyes of the ancient nobility, by the greatest part of whom she was condemned, and of principal part of the gentlemen of the realm, who confirmed the same in parliament; who would never submit to his government, if he shewed so vindictive a mind[a]." Those Scotch and English therefore were in the right, who assured the English council, it would soon be forgot; and "that the blood was already fallen from his majesty's heart[b]." For he was afraid of consequences, and therefore durst not attempt to fulfil his threats.

[10] He was not much regarded by his nobility, &c.] He makes it a reason for his joining with Spain, that "queen Elizabeth had always protected his enemies and rebels, and that by their means she had caused him to be three or four times taken into custody[c]." Whe-

[a] Spotswood, p. 360. [b] Melvil, p. 173.
[c] Winwood, vol. I. p. 4.

his clergy, who behaved, as he thought, disobediently towards him [11].

ther or no Elizabeth was at the bottom of all the attempts of the nobility against James, is not my business to determine. But 'tis very certain they paid him but little regard, and scrupled not to bring him to terms, even by rough methods. The affair of Ruthven has been already mentioned: besides which we find the banished lords surprised him at Stirling, and caused him once more to dismiss Arran, and deprive him of his honours; and Bothwell took the same course with him to obtain his pardon, and hinder his adversaries from returning to court [a].

These were instances of disrespect and disregard, and could arise from nothing but an opinion of the weakness of the prince to whom they were offered. Though it must be confessed that the Scotch nobility in those days were of a bold, restless temper, and were seldom quiet any longer than things went just as they pleased; and therefore were unlikely to stand in much awe of one, whose irresolution and want of courage had been from his childhood so very remarkable.

[11] His clergy behaved disobediently, as he thought, towards him.] "The king perceiving that the death of his mother was determined, gave orders to the ministers to remember her in their public prayers; which they denied to do. Upon their denial, charges were directed to command all bishops, ministers, and other office-bearers in the church, to make mention of her distress in their public prayers, and commend her to God. But of all the number, Mr. David Lindesay at Leith, and the king's own ministers, gave obedience.

[a] Spotswood, p. 341. 394.

For this he hated them most heartily; but dissembled his resentment, till he could

At Edinburgh, where the disobedience was most public, the king purposing to have their fault amended, did appoint the third of February for solemn prayers to be made in her behalf, commanding the bishop of St. Andrews to prepare himself for that day; which when the ministers understood, they stirred up Mr. John Cowper, a young man not entered as yet in the function, to take the pulpit before the time, and exclude the bishop. The king coming at the hour appointed, and seeing him in the place, called to him from his seat, and said, Mr. John, that place was destinate for another; yet since you are there, if you will obey the charge that is given, and remember my mother in your prayers, you shall go on. He replying, he would do as the spirit of God should direct him, was commanded to leave the place; and making as though he would stay, the captain of the guard went to pull him out; whereupon he burst forth in these speeches, this day shall be a witness against the king, in the great day of the Lord; and then denouncing a woe to the inhabitants of Edinburgh, he went down [a]." This behaviour seems to savour much of indecency and disobedience, and I doubt not but the reader is inclined to censure it accordingly. But let us not be too hasty, lest we judge unrighteous judgment. The ministers, I think, failed more in breeding than any thing else; for what was required of them, was to pray that God would illuminate her (Mary) with the light of his truth, and save her from the apparent danger in which she was cast. Now this latter they could not in conscience

[a] Spotswood, p. 354.

show it with safety; when he let all men do: for they looked upon her in the most detestable light, and wished not for her preservation, believing it inconsistent with the good of the state and religion. And therefore, says secretary Walsingham, "it was wondered by all wise and religious men in England, that the king should be so earnest in the cause of his mother, seeing all the papists in Europe that affected the change of religion in both realms, did build their hopes altogether upon her[a]." If therefore the Scots ministers thought as all the wise and religious men in England did, about this matter, they could not, consistently with sincerity, have prayed for her deliverance. The king therefore should have forborne pressing them to do what was contrary to their judgments, and they should have used civil and respectful terms of refusal; which, if they had done, I apprehend, they would have been free from blame. But this was not the only affair in which the clergy of Scotland behaved disobediently and irreverently towards James.

For Mr. Robert Bruce, finding the king willing that Huntley should return into Scotland, boldly told him, "I see, Sir, that your resolution is to take Huntley into favour, which if you do, I will oppose, and you shall chuse whether you will lose Huntley or me; for both you cannot keep[b]." Mr. Blake was likewise charged by him with saying, "that he had detected the treachery of his heart; that all kings were the devil's barns; and that the devil was in the court, and in the guiders of it[c]."—And Mr. John Welch, in the high church of Edinburgh, said, "the king was possessed with a devil, and one devil being put out, seven worse

[a] Spotswood, p. 354. [b] Id. p. 417. [c] Id. p. 423.

know how much their conduct galled him, and what ill will he bare unto them [12].

were entered in his place[d]." This was strange talking, and what could not but be very displeasing to James, though he had not power enough to curb and restrain those who were guilty of it.

[12] He dissembled with them, till with safety he could shew his resentment, &c.] Notwithstanding all the rudeness with which he had been treated by his clergy in the general assembly at Edinburgh, 1590, he stood "up with his bonnet off, and his hands lifted up to heaven, and said, he praised God, that he was born in the time of the light of the gospel, and in such a place, as to be king of such a church, the sincerest [purest] kirk in the world. The Church of Geneva keep pasche and yule [Easter and Christmas] what have they for them? they have no institution. As for our neighbour kirk of England, their service is an evil said mass in English; they want nothing of the mass but the liftings. I charge you my good ministers, doctors, elders, nobles, gentlemen, and barons, to stand to your purity, and to exhort the people to do the same; and I, forsooth, as long as I brook my life, shall maintain the same[b]." And in his speech to the parliament, 1598, he tells them, "he minded not to bring in papistical or anglicane bishops[c]." And in 1602, he assured the general assembly, "that he would stand for the church and be an advocate for the ministry[d]." A man would think by this, that James had a very great regard for his clergy, and an high esteem of them; and doubtless

[a] Spotswood, p. 430. [b] Calderwood's Church History of Scotland, p. 256. fol. Edinb. 1680. [c] Id. p. 418. [d] Spotswood, p. 463.

Though we are not to suppose, however he himself intended they should think so too. But this was mere artifice and dissimulation; for at bottom he hated them heartily, and could not bear the thoughts of them. This will appear to a demonstration from his writings. "Some fiery spirited men in the ministry, he says, oftentimes calumniated him in their popular sermons, not for any evil or vice in him, but because he was a king, which they thought the highest evil." This was the effect he thought of parity in the church. Therefore he advises his son [prince Henry] "to take heed to such puritans, very pests in the church and commonwealth, whom no deserts can oblige, neither oaths nor promises bind, breathing nothing but sedition and calumnies, aspiring without measure, railing without reason, and making their own imaginations (without any warrant of the word) the square of their conscience. I protest before the great God, and since I am here upon my testament, it is no place for me to lye in, that ye shall never find with any hie-land or border thieves, greater ingratitude, and more lies and vile perjuries, than with these phanatic spirits, and suffer not the principal of them to brook your land, if ye list to set at rest; except ye would keep them for trying your patience, as Socrates did an evil wife[a]."

And in his premonition to all christian monarchs, &c. he tells us "he was ever an enemy to the confused anarchy or parity of the puritans, as well appeareth in his ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ." And therefore adds he, "I cannot enough wonder with what brazen face this answerer (Bellarmine) could say, that I was a puritan in

[a] King James's Works, p. 160.

it has been otherwise represented, either through ignorance or prejudice to the then

Scotland, and an enemy to protestants: I that was persecuted by puritans there, not from my birth only, but even since four months before my birth? I that in the year of God 84, erected bishops, and depressed all their popular parity. I then not being 18 years of age, [this was the year in which the earl of Gowry was executed, and Arran committed the vilest acts of injustice] "I that in my said book to my son, do speak ten times more bitterly of them than of the papists; having in my second edition thereof affixed a long apologetic preface, only in *odium puritanorum*[a]." This was written in England when the king could speak his mind, and therefore we may be sure we have his real sentiments, especially as all his actions were correspondent unto them. So that I had reason to say, that James dissembled his hatred and resentment till a proper opportunity. But how worthy this was of a king is not hard to judge. For nothing is more unbecoming the rank and character of such an one, than dissimulation, especially towards his own subjects. It is setting an ill example unto them, which may be of the most fatal consequences; and depriving princes of that love, trust and confidence, in which their safety, strength and reputation most of all consist. But to dissemble in the affairs of religion, is vile hypocrisy; which yet 'tis plain from the king's own speeches and writings he did. But James was a weak prince, and lord Bacon has finely observed, "that the weaker sort of politicks are the great dissemblers."—"For, adds he, if a man have that penetration of judgment, as he can

[a] King James's Works p. 305.

Scottish clergy, but that they had received

discern what things are to be laid open, and what to be secreted, and what to be shewed at half lights, and to whom and when, (which indeed are arts of state, and arts of life, as Tacitus well calleth them) to him a habit of dissimulation is an hindrance and a poorness. But if a man cannot attain to that judgment, then it is left to him generally to be a dissembler[a]." I will conclude this note with a passage from honest Montaigne, which I dare say every reader of like character will applaud. "As to this virtue of dissimulation, I mortally hate it; and of all vices find none that does evidence so much baseness and meanness of spirit. 'Tis a cowardly and servile humour to hide and disguise a man's self under a vizor, and not to dare to shew himself what he is. By that our followers are trained up to treachery. Being brought up to speak what is not true, they make no conscience of a lye. A generous heart ought not to belye its own thoughts, but will make itself seen within, all there is good, or at least manly. Aristotle reputes it the office of magnanimity, openly and professedly to love and hate, to judge and speak with all freedom; and not to value the approbation or dislike of others in comparison of truth. Apollonius said, it was for slaves to lye, and for free men to speak truth. 'Tis the chief and fundamental part of virtue, we must love it for itself.——A man must not always tell all; for that were folly; but what a man says, should be what he thinks, otherwise 'tis knavery. I do not know what advantage men pretend to by eternally counterfeiting and dissembling, if not, never to be believed when they speak the truth. This may once or twice pass upon

[a] Lord Bacon's Essay on Simulation and Dissimulation.

provocations by the king's actions, to behave towards him as they did[13].

men; but to profess concealing their thoughts, and to brag, as some of our princes have done, that they would burn their shirts if they knew their intentions, and that who knows not how to dissemble, knows not how to rule; is to give warning to all who have any thing to do with them, that all they say is nothing but lying and deceit[a]."

[13] The clergy had received provocations to behave towards him as they did.] I have given an account of the undutiful behaviour of the clergy towards James from Spotswood: but bishop Burnet tells us, "there is a great defect runs through archbishop Spotswood's history, where much of the rude opposition the king met with, particularly from the assemblies of the kirk, is set forth; but the true ground of all the jealousies they were possessed with, is suppressed by him[b]." These jealousies were of his being in his heart a papist, founded on facts delivered to them by the English ministry, and from his favouring and employing those of that religion. Walsingham, as I have already observed, "thought James was either inclined to turn papist, or to be of no religion. And when the English court saw that they could not depend on him, they raised all possible opposition to him in Scotland, infusing strong jealousies into those who were enough inclined to receive them[c]." Dr. Birch says, "the king of Scots was indeed at this time [1599] much suspected of inclining to popery; and a copy of a letter, offering obedience to the pope, signed by that king, was brought

[a] Montaigne's Essays, by Cotton, vol. II p. 507. 8vo. Lond. 1686.
[b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 5. [c] Id. ib.

However, I am far enough from defend-

from Rome by the master of Gray, and shewn to queen Elizabeth; who sent Sir William Bowes ambassador to him, to advertise him not to build on the friendship of Rome[a]."——[This was the letter for which lord Balmerino was condemned, but pardoned, in the year 1609; it being said he surreptitiously got the king's hand thereto, which he himself confessed.] And we find, in 1596, the ministers complaining to the king of "the favour granted to the popish lords; the countenance given to the lady Huntley, and her invitation to the baptism of the princess; the putting her in the hands of the lady Levingstone, an avowed and obstinate papist; and the alienation of his majesty's heart from the ministers, as appeared by all his speeches public and private[b]."——In short, the ministers were jealous of his majesty's intentions; they suspected his behaviour, and were afraid that he only wanted an opportunity to crush them, and the religion they professed. 'Twas the belief of this, that made them break out into such indecent expressions, and undutiful behaviour; and the knowledge of their own power and influence over the people, which inspired them with courage and boldness. And, I think, all impartial persons must allow, that if ever 'tis excuseable to go beyond bounds in any thing, it is in defence of religion and liberty, in opposition to popery and tyranny. Most of these men remembered the fires which popish zeal had lighted; they had seen the blood spilt by it, and therefore it is not to be wondered at, that they were more than

[a] Birch's Historical View of the Negotiations between the Courts of England, France, and Brussels, p. 177. 8vo. Lond. 1749. Spotswood, p. 455. Burnet, p. 6. and note 43. [b] Spotswood, p. 419.

ing their whole behaviour[14]. In 1589, James married a daughter of Denmark, (after having objected against the dignity of that royal house, merely through ignorance about it[15]:) and the lady being driven by a

ordinarily moved at every thing which had the least tendency to bring them back into so deplorable a state.

[14] I am far enough from defending their whole behaviour.] The behaviour of the clergy was very rough, and bordering upon rudeness. They treated majesty with too much familiarity. They prostituted their pulpits to affairs of state, and rebuked after such a manner as tended more to provoke, than to reclaim. In these things they were blameworthy. But I should not do them justice, were I to omit their zeal for what they thought truth; their labour and diligence in the business of the ministry, and their speaking the truth with all boldness. These were virtues for which James's clergy were eminent; and therefore they were held in high esteem by the major part of that kingdom, as will all of that profession every where be, who imitate them herein, for they are things praiseworthy, and of good report.

[15] He married a daughter of Denmark, after having objected against the dignity of that royal house, through mere ignorance about it.] James, notwithstanding all his boasted learning, was defective in history, the knowledge of which is most necessary for princes. He had so little skill in this, that he knew not the state and condition of so near a country to him as Denmark; nor was he acquainted with the rank the kings of it bare in Christendom. "He was informed, he said,

tempest into Norway, he, impatient of the

that the king of Denmark was descended but of merchants, and that few made account of him or his country, but such as spoke the Dutch tongue[a]." 'Tis amazing that any one of James's elevated station should be so grossly ignorant. Had he never read of the power of the Danes, their ravages and conquests both in England and Scotland? was he never informed that marriage had been contracted between his own family and that of Denmark? nor that in the year 1468 Christian I. king of Norway and Denmark, renounced all right and title for himself and his successors to James III. king of Scotland, to the isles of Orkney, upon a marriage between him and his daughter[b]? 'Tis plain he knew none of these things, and therefore was miserably qualified to contract alliances, or enter into treaties.———However Melvil informed him of these matters, which made him so exceeding glad, "that he said he would not for his head but that he had shewn the verity unto him." "Sometime after, as said is, he called his council together in his cabinet, and told them how he had been advising about his marriage fifteen days, and asked council of God by devout prayer thereon, and that he was now resolved to marry in Denmark[c]." The lady whom James took to wife was Ann, second daughter of Frederick king of Denmark. Our historians give her the character of a courteous and humane princess, and one in whom there was much goodness[d]. It will not perhaps be unacceptable to the reader if I give the character she bore among foreigners,

[a] Melvil, p. 164. [b] Camden's Britannia, by Gibson, edit. 2. p. 1470. Lond. 1722. [c] Melvil, p. 177. [d] Spotswood, p. 540. and Wilson's Life of King James, p. 129. fol. Lond. 1653.

detention of his bride, went thither and con-

who, oftentimes, speak more justly than subjects. "She was naturally, says the duke of Sully, bold and enterprizing: she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was acquainted with all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, occasioned by the catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged; but also in England, where the discontented, whose numbers were not inconsiderable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess destined to become their queen.—In public she affected absolutely to govern her son (prince Henry) whom it was said she thought to inspire with sentiments in favour of Spain: for none doubted but she was inclined to declare herself absolutely on that side[a]. Afterwards, he tells us, he received letters from Beaumont, (the French resident) informing him, that the queen was disposed to pleasures and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in them, and nothing else. She so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had in reality only pretended to be attached to them, through the necessity of eventual conjunctures[b]." Whoever knows the rank of Sully, as favourite and prime minister to Henry the Great of France, and ambassador extraordinary to James, will pay great deference to his account; for it cannot but be supposed he had the best informations. And indeed from Winwood's state papers the character of queen Ann will be found nearly as Sully has given it, but different with regard to her inclinations to Spain, from what Beaumont informed him. I have before observed, that while in Scotland

[a] Memoirs of the Duke of Sully, p. 211, 213. vol. I. 12mo. Lond. 1751.
[b] Id. vol. II. p. 179.

summated the marriage. From whence, upon invitation, he proceeded into Denmark, where being royally entertained, he

she employed a person to Bothwell, to hasten him home, assuring him of assistance, in order that Gowry's death might be revenged [a].

And Mr. Winwood, in a letter to the lord Cranborne, Sept. 12, 1604, O. S. says, "the followers of the constable (of Castile) in their relation of England, gave forth that the queen was wholly theirs[b]." Mr. Levinus Muncke (secretary to the earl of Salisbury) in a letter to Mr. Winwood, Oct. 29, 1605, tells him, "Mons. Caron (the Dutch ambassador) with much ado spake first with the queen, and afterward with the prince. I was glad, adds he, I was made an instrument, under my lord, of his accesses; for otherwise, without his assistance, I fear me, he had never spoken with her; for let me tell you in your ear without offence, she is meerly Spanish, and had promised Arenberg (ambassador from the arch-dukes) not to speak with Caron. But the best is, she carrieth no sway in state matters, and *præter rem uxoriam* hath no great reach in other affairs[c]." However the Spaniards valued her friendship, and upon a letter from her to the queen of Spain, "a large pension was granted to one Carre, a Scott[d]." Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain, in a letter to the earl of Salisbury, April 13, 1609, writes, that "the [Spanish] ambassador hath advertised that the queen should say unto him, he might one day peradventure see the prince on a pilgrimage at St. Jago. Whereupon, tho' doubtless she spake in mer-

[a] See note 5. [b] Winwood, vol. II. p. 31. [c] Id. p. 155.
[d] Id. p. 149.

spent the winter, and returned not into Scotland till May 20, 1590.

During the remainder of his reign in

riment, they here much infer, and seem to hope that his majesty will be contented to send him hither to receive the rest of his education here, yf the inclination of alliance continues[a]." So that from these passages 'tis plain Sully did not misrepresent this queen, in saying, "no one doubted but she was inclined to declare herself absolutely on the Spanish side." As to pomp and grandeur, pleasures and amusements, whoever will take the trouble of consulting the pages referred to in the margin, will see abundant proof of it[b]. For from these it appears that her inclinations were much towards masques and revels, state and grandeur, which probably ran her in debt, and made her melancholy, 'till the king augmented her jointure, and paid her debts[c]. Sir Edward Peyton represents her indeed in a much worse light. According to him, besides Gowry, [it should be Gowry's brother] she had a great number of gallants, both in Scotland and England[d]. But what he says on this head, is to me so very improbable, that I will not trouble the reader with it. ———She died of a dropsy March 1, 1618-19, at Hampton-Court, without much lamentation from the king, though she was not unbeloved by the people. Osborn observes, that he himself saw "James one evening parting from the queen, and taking his leave at her coach side, by kissing her sufficiently to the middle of the shoulders; for so low, says he, she went

[a] Winwood, vol. III. p. 12. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 44. vol. III. p. 117. and 454. [c] Id. p. 117. [d] Peyton's Divine Catastrophe of the House of Stuarts, p. 10, 11. Lond. 1731. 8vo.

Scotland, he was engaged in troubles with his nobility; in quarrels with his clergy; and in writing his paraphrase on the Revelations[16]. His Dæmonologie, stiled a rare

bare all the days I had the fortune to know her; having a skin far more amiable than the features it covered, though not the disposition, in which report rendered her very debonair[a]." But notwithstanding the debonairness of her disposition, she could not influence her husband, who weakly permitted his favourites to ill-treat her[b]. This probably might in time alter her disposition, and cause her to act with wisdom and prudence, and avoid feastings, revels and factions. For archbishop Abbot, (a worthy venerable prelate) many years after her death, speaks of her with great respect, and as of one whose virtue he had not the least doubt of, which, I dare say, he would not have done, had her character, in his eye, been upon the whole faulty[c]. I have been the longer upon the character of this princess, because it has been little known; our historians contenting themselves to speak one after the other, without examination, whereby, for the most part, it cometh to pass, that they tend little to improve or instruct; and, which is worse, fix such ideas of things and persons as are difficult to be eradicated, tho' ever so false.

[16] In writing his paraphrase on the Revelations.] "This paraphrase (says Dr. Montague) was written by his majesty before he was twenty years of age[d]."

[a] Osborn, p. 496. [b] Rushworth's Historical Collections, vol. I. p. 456. fol. Lond. 1659. [c] Id. ib. [d] Preface to king James's Works.

piece for many precepts and experiments

And James, at the end of his epistle to the church militant, prefixed to this paraphrase, desires "that what was found amiss in it might be imputed to his lack of years and learning[a]." A strange work this for a youth to undertake, and an argument of very great weakness. For who knows not that this book has exercised the wits of the most learned and understanding men, from the beginning of the Christian church; and who is there ignorant that the world has been little the wiser for their lucubrations? Great learning, industry, and piety have been discovered, it must be owned, in several commentators on this book, but still it remains in many parts obscure, as at the beginning[b]. What then must we think of a raw young man who shall wade so far out of his depth, and set up for an expounder of the deepest mysteries? Ought we not to censure his temerity, and condemn his boldness? And much more reasonable will this appear when we consider that James was a prince, and consequently a person whose business it was to apply himself to affairs of government, and consult the welfare of his people. This was his proper business; the other was out of his province, and answered no end, either to himself or others. Indeed, if Montague is right, these reflections are ill founded. He tells us "kings have a kind of interest in this book [the Revelations] beyond any other; for as the execution of the most part of the prophecies of that book is committed unto them, so it may be, that the interpretation of it may more happily be made by them; and since they are the principal in-

[a] King James's Works, p. 3.

[b] See Mede, More, Newton, Lowman, &c.

struments that God hath described in that book to destroy the kingdom of Antichrist, to consume his state and city; I see not but it may stand with the wisdom of God to inspire their hearts to expound it[a]." This is admirable! and well worthy of a court chaplain who had still hopes of preferment. But, with this bishop's good leave, I will take on me to affirm, that James's work is far enough from being a proof that the Revelations may be more happily interpreted by kings than by others; or that God puts it into their royal hearts at any time to expound it. For to speak in the softest manner of this performance, it must be said to be poor, low, and mean, and incapable of bringing any honour to the composer. Subjoined to this paraphrase is a "fruitful meditation, containing a plain and easy exposition, or laying open of the seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth verses of the twentieth chapter of the Revelation, in form and manner of a sermon." Here he plainly intimates his opinion that the church of Rome is Antichrist. When this was first printed at Edinburgh it had this title.——"Ane fruitful meditation containing ane plaine and facile exposition of the 7, 8, 9 and 10 verses of the XX. chap. of the Revelation in forme of ane sermone. Set down by the maist Christiane king and syncier professour and cheif defender of the faith, James the 6th king of Scottis. 2 Thess. i. 6, 7, 8. For it is ane righteous thing with God. Impremit at Edinburgh be Henrie Charteris, 1588[b]."——James was fond of meditations on select portions of scripture. After the destruction of the Spanish armado in 1588, he wrote a "meditation upon the 25, 26, 27, 28 and

[a] Preface to James's Works.

[b] Lewis's History of the English Translations of the Bible, p. 296.

29th verses of the xvth chapter of the first book of Chronicles of the kings:" in which he compares the protestants to the "Israelites, and the catholicks to the Philistines, adorers of legions of gods, and ruled by the foolish traditions of men[a]." And long afterwards [1619] he wrote a "meditation on the Lord's Prayer, of which I shall speak more hereafter; and a meditation upon the 27, 28, 29th verses of the xxviith chapter of St. Matthew, or a pattern for a king's inauguration." This was dedicated to prince Charles. Among several other things we have the following passage, "telling Buckingham my intention, [of writing this meditation] and that I thought you the fittest person to whom I could dedicate it, for divers reasons following, he humbly and earnestly desired me, that he might have the honour to be my amanuensis in this work. First, because it would free me from the pain of writing, by sparing the labour both of mine eyes and hands; and next, that he might do you some piece of service thereby; protesting that his natural obligation to you (next me) is redoubled by the many favours that you daily heap upon him. And indeed I must ingenuously confess to my comfort, that in making your affections to follow and second thus your fathers, you shew what reverent love you carry towards me in your heart. And indeed my granting this request to Buckingham hath much eased my labour, considering the slowness, illness, and uncorrectness of my hand[b]." Many of my readers, I doubt not, will be pleased with such like passages as this; for they shew the man more than any thing besides. However, I must ask pardon for running away from the Revelations, of which James was a paraphrast, to these me-

[a] James's Works, p. 87. [b] Id. p. 602.

in divinity and natural philosophy[a] [17];

ditations; but the connexion between that annexed to that book, and the rest, I hope will be deemed a sufficient excuse.

[17] His Dæmonologie.] This was printed at Edinburgh, *cum privil. reg.* 4to. 1597. It is in form of a dialogue, divided into three books. The occasion and end of this piece, to do James justice, I shall give in his own words. "The fearful abounding (says he) at this time, in this country, of these detestable slaves of the devil, the witches or enchanters, hath moved me, beloved reader, to dispatch in post this following treatise of mine, not in any wise (as I protest) to serve for a shew of my learning and ingene, but only (moved of conscience) to press thereby so far as I can, to resolve the doubting hearts of many; both that such assaults of Satan are most certainly practised, and that the instrument thereof merits most severely to be punished, against the damnable opinions of two principally in our age, whereof the one called Scot, an Englishman, is not ashamed in public print to deny, that there can be such a thing as witchcraft; and so maintains the old errors of the Sadducees in denying of spirits; the other called Wierus, a German physician, sets out a public apology for all these crafts-folks, whereby, procuring for their impunity, he plainly bewrays himself to have been one of that profession. And for to make this treatise the more pleasant and facile, I have put it in form of a dialogue, which I have divided into three books; the first speaking of magic in general, and necromancie in special: the second of sorcerie and witchcraft: and the third con-

[a] Preface to James's Works.

tains a discourse of all these kinds of spirits, and spectres that appear and trouble persons: together with a conclusion of the whole work[a]." From this account 'tis plain James believed that there were witches, &c. and that they deserved a most severe punishment. And afterwards he tell us, "that witches ought to be put to death according to the law of God, the civil and imperial law, and the municipal law of all Christian nations. Yea, he declares, that to spare the life, and not to strike when God bids strike, and so severely punish in so odious a fault and treason against God, it is not only unlawful, but doubtless no less sin in the magistrate, nor it was in Saul's sparing Agag[b]." Yea, so zealous was he for punishing these poor wretches, that he declares it to be his opinion "that barnes or wives, or never so defamed persons, may serve for sufficient witnesses against them[c]." But lest innocent persons should be accused, and suffer falsely, he tells us "there are two good helps that may be used for their trial: the one is the finding of their mark, and the trying the insensibleness thereof: the other is their fleeting on the water: for, as in a secret murther, if the dead carkas be at any time thereafter handled by the murtherer, it will gush out of blood, as if the blood were crying to the heaven for revenge of the murtherer: God having appointed that secret supernatural sign, for trial of that secret unnatural crime: so that it appears that God hath appointed (for a supernatural sign of the monstrous impiety of witches) that the water shall refuse to receive them in her bosom, that have shaken off them the sacred water of baptism, and wilfully refused the benefit thereof: no, not so much as their eyes are able to

[a] James's Works, p. 91. [b] Id. p. 134. [c] Id. p. 135.

shed tears (threaten and torture them as you please) while first they repent (God not permitting them to dissemble their obstinacie in so horrible a crime). Albeit the women-kind especially, be able otherwise to shed tears at every light occasion when they will, yea, although it were dissembling like the crocodiles[a]." James, we see, was well qualified for a witch-finder; he knew their marks, and could discover them by swimming, and refraining tears. And accordingly, he permitted persons to be executed who were found guilty thereof. In 1597, "there was a great business in the trial of witches; amongst others, one Margaret Atkins, being apprehended upon suspicion, and threatened with torture, did confess herself guilty. Being examined concerning her associates in that trade, she named a few, and finding she gained credit, made offer to detect all of that sort, and to purge the country of them, so she might have her life granted. For the reason of her knowledge, she said, that they had a secret mark, all of that sort, in their eyes, whereby she could surely tell, how soon she looked upon any, whether they were witches or not. In this she was so readily believed, that for the space of three or four months she was carried from town to town, to make discoveries in that kind. She accused many, and many innocent women were put to death. In the end she was found to be a mere deceiver[b]." And most of the winter of the year 1591, was spent in the discovery and examination of witches and sorcerers. "In this year the famous Agnes Samson (commonly called the wise wife of Keith) was examined, who confessed she had a familiar spirit, who had no power over the king, but said, as she took the words to be, *il est homme de*

[a] James's Works, p. 136. [b] Spotswood, p. 448.

Dieu[a]." This speech, I doubt not, flattered James's vanity, and made him the more stedfast in the belief of the doctrine of witches. For believe it, I suppose, he did, or otherwise he would not have passed such a bloody statute, formed out of compliment (as has been well conjectured)[b] to him, by both houses of parliament, soon after his accession to the English throne. By this statute it was enacted, "that if any person or persons shall use, practise, or exercise any invocation, or conjuration of any evil and wicked spirit, or shall consult, covenant with, entertain, employ, feed or reward any evil and wicked spirit, to or for any intent and purpose: or take up any dead man, woman, or child, out of his, her, or their grave, or any other place where the dead body resteth, or the skin, bone, or any part of any dead person, to be employed or used in any manner of witchcraft, sorcery, charm, or inchantment; or shall use, practise, or exercise any witchcraft, inchantment, charm or sorcery, whereby any person shall be killed, destroyed, wasted, consumed, pined or lamed in his or her body, or any part thereof; that then every such offender or offenders, their aiders, abettors, and counsellors, being of any the said offences duly and lawfully convicted and attainted, shall suffer pains of death as a felon or felons; and shall lose the privilege and benefit of clergy and sanctuary[c]." Upon this statute great numbers have been condemned and executed, to the reproach of common sense and humanity. And even great and good men have been the instruments hereby of condemning miserable innocent creatures.

A caution to law-makers this, not (in order to please

[a] Spotswood, p. 383. [b] Hutchinson's Historical Essay concerning Witchcraft, p. 180. Lond. 1718, 8vo. [c] Stat. anno primo Jacobi regis, c. 12. sect. 2.

a prince) to enact statutes, especially on the penalty of death, unless upon the most solid, weighty reasons.—For though the general opinion then was, that there were witches, and that they did much hurt and damage, yet ought the parliament to have weighed well the foundation on which it was built, and the consequences of it. Whereas they took the opinion on trust, and enacted a most dreadful punishment for an imaginary crime.———James tells us, "that witches ought to be put to death, according to the municipal law of all Christian nations." He spoke as he knew; but had his learning been as universal as it was proclaimed, he could not with truth have said so. For Dr. Hutchinson assures us, that 'tis so far from being true, that all nations have always had such laws as ours, that he had some reason to doubt, whether any nation in the world hath, unless it be Scotland[a]. And with great pleasure I find that there "was a law in Ethiopia, which prohibited the people to believe that there is any such thing as witches; the belief whereof, they say, is founded upon the error of the Manichees, that there are two independent gods, a good one, and a bad one[b]." But I will leave this subject, after having observed that we have reason to be thankful to almighty God, and to acknowledge the wisdom and goodness of our government, for repealing the statute aforesaid, and "enacting, that no prosecution, suit, or proceeding shall be commenced, or carried on against any person or persons for witchcraft, sorcery, inchantment, or conjuration, in any court whatsoever in Great Britain[c]." This is a statute as much in honour to our legislators

[a] Historical Discourse of Witchcraft, p. 158.

[b] Geddes Church History of Ethiopia, p. 361. 8vo. Lond. 1696.

[c] Stat. anno nono Georgii II. regis, c. 5. sect. 3.

his Trew law of free monarchy[13]; but especially his piece so highly extolled, entitled

as any ever enacted, and will transmit their fame down to posterity; it being founded on reason and justice, and productive of the safety of the people, whose welfare is the end of all government. I have said above, that I supposed James did believe the doctrine of witches. But, in justice to his character, I must here add, that after his being in England, having met with a number of forgeries and cheats, they wrought such an alteration upon his judgment, that at first he grew diffident of, and then flatly denied the workings of witches and devils[a].

[13] His Trew law of free monarchy.] This was printed in September 1598, without his name. "The bent of it, says Calderwood, was directed against the course of God's work, in the reformation of our kirk, and elsewhere, as rebellious to kings[b]." And it must be confessed, if the doctrine contained in this treatise is true, the Scotch and many other of the reformers, will with difficulty be cleared from rebellion. For he asserts the regal power strongly; allows resistance or disobedience to it upon no account whatsoever; and reflects on the "seditious preachers of whatsoever religion, either in Scotland or in France, that had busied themselves most to stir up rebellion under cloke of religion[c]." In short, he plainly says, "the king is above the law, and that he is not bound thereto, but of his good will, and for good example-giving to his subjects[d]." This is the doctrine contained in the law of

[a] Fuller's Church Hist. cent. 17. book 10. p. 74. and Osborn's Works, p. 551. [b] Calderwood's Church Hist. p. 426. [c] James's Works, p. 199. [d] Id. p. 203.

ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ[19], for the use of his son prince Henry; which being published

free monarchy, than which nothing can be more vile and abominable.

[19] ΒΑΣΙΛΙΚΟΝ ΔΩΡΟΝ.] This book is dedicated to his dearest son and natural successor, prince Henry. 'Tis divided into three parts. "The first teacheth your duty towards God as a Christian; the next your duty in your office as a king; and the third informeth you how to behave yourself in indifferent things, says he to the prince[a]. It was wrote for an exercise of his own ingenie and instruction of him, who, he hoped, was appointed of God to sit on his throne after him." ——"Seven copies only were permitted to be printed, the printer being first sworn to secresie; but, contrary to his intention and expectation, the book was vented, and set forth to public view[b]." This was in the year 1599. This book contains some tolerable things, but intermixed with strange passages; those relating to the clergy, whom he opprobriously terms puritans, I have had occasion before to mention[c]: what follows, I think, is not less remarkable. "Suffer not your princes and your parents to be dishonoured by any: the infaming and making odious of the parent, is the readiest way to bring the son into contempt.———I never yet found a constant biding by me in all my streights, by any that were of perfit age in my parents days, but only by such as constantly bode by them; I mean, specially by them that served the queen my mother[d]." So that princes, even after their death, are not to have much truth spoken con-

[a] Works, p. 139.
[b] Id. p. 142.
[c] See note 12.
[d] Works, p. 158.

(though censured by the synod of St. Andrews) was well accepted in England, and

cerning them, if they have children to reign after them; and all their tyrannies, oppressions, and vices are to be buried in oblivion, or concealed at least from the eyes of the vulgar. What monstrous doctrine is this! how does it take off all awe and restraint from princes, and give them hope of reputation after death, how ill soever they may behave! How much more sensible and judicious were the sentiments of the virtuous and amiable "Queen Mary, who when reflections were once made before her, of the sharpness of some historians, who had left heavy imputations on the memory of some princes; answered, that if those princes were truly such, as the historians represented them, they had well deserved that treatment; and others who tread their steps might look for the same; for truth would be told at last, and that with the more acrimony of style, for being so long restrained it was a gentle suffering (added she) to be exposed to the world in their true colours, much below what others had suffered at their hands. She thought also that all sovereigns ought to read such histories as Procopius; for how much soever he may have aggravated matters, and how unbecomingly soever he may have writ, yet by such books they might see what would be probably said of themselves, when all terrors and restraints should fall off with their lives[a]." These reflections are solid and just, and could proceed only from a mind conscious of its own innocency and integrity; whereas the advice of James has the appearance of a sense of

[a] Burnet's Essay on the Memory of Queen Mary, p. 113. 12mo. Lond. 1696.

raised an admiration in all men's hearts, says Spotswood, of his piety and wisdom.

guilt, and dread of shame. But the praise of his mother's servants, and the acknowledgment of their singular fidelity to him is most amazing: for who were they but most bigoted papists, and enemies to the reformation? who but they who justified her and defended her, even in the most iniquitous and shameful actions? who were they but men enemies to the constitution of Scotland, and foes to law and liberty? 'Tis no wonder, therefore, that the synod of St. Andrews took fire at a book containing these and like passages, and asked "what censure should be inflicted upon him that had given such instructions to the prince, and if he could be thought well affected to religion, that delivered such precepts of government[a]?"——These things being considered, I fancy the judicious reader will not think the judgment of the learned Gataker of this book much amiss; which being contained in a piece very difficult to be got, I will transcribe at large, and with it conclude the note. "King James, a prince of more policy than puissance, while he was yet king of Scotland, penned, or owned[b] at least, a book entituled Δωρον Βασιλικον, which whoso shall advisedly read, though of no very sharp eye-sight or deep reach, yet may easily descry a design carried all along in it to ingratiate himself with the popish side, by commending the fidelity of his mother's servants, as to her, so to himself; with the

[a] Spotswood, p. 456.

[b] Dr. Balcanqual (who was at the synod of Dort, and afterwards dean of Rochester) is said to have helped king James to write his Basilicon Doron. Journey through Scotland, p. 70.

Certain 'tis, adds the same writer, that all the discourses that came forth at that time for maintaining his right to the crown of England, prevailed nothing so much as did this treatise.

prelatical party, by giving them hope of continuing that government that he should find here established; with the common people, by allowing them their may-games, and the like sports; only he had bitterly expressed himself in high terms against the poor puritans, whom he least feared, and deemed generally disaffected by those other three parties. Howbeit, when the time drew near of queen Elizabeth's departure, that his quiet coming in might not meet with any disturbance from that party, he prefixed a preface to his book then reprinted, wherein on his honour he protesteth, that by the name of puritans he meant not all preachers in general, or others, that misliked the ceremonies as badges of popery, and the episcopacie as smelling of a papal supremacie, but did equally love the learned and grave on either side; intended only such brainsick and heady preachers, that leaned too much to their own dreams, contemned all authority, counted all profane that would not swear to all their fantasies[a]." The reader will be pleased to compare this with what James says, note 12, of his having written a long apologetick preface to the second edition of this book, only in *odium puritanorum*, and then judge what stress is to be laid on his word.

[a] Thomas Gataker, B. D. his Vindication of his Annotations, against the scurrilous Aspersions of that grand Impostor Mr. William Lillie, p. 75. 4to. Lond. 1653.

However, James was not so much taken up with these matters, as to neglect making interest with the great men at the English court[20], to secure to him the right of suc-

[20] James was not so much taken up with these matters, as to neglect making interest with the great men at the English court.] "He was careful, says Burnet, to secure to himself the body of the English nation. Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury, secretary to queen Elizabeth, entered into a particular confidence with him; and this was managed by his ambassador Bruce, who carried the matter with such address and secrecy, that all the great men of England, without knowing of one another's doing it, and without the queen suspecting any thing concerning it, signed in writing an engagement to assert and stand by the king of Scots right of succession[a]." A pleasant story or two from Sir Henry Wotton, whose testimony in this affair is indisputable, will convince us of the probability of what Burnet has here asserted, and confirm the truth of the text.

"There were in court [queen Elizabeth's] two names of power, and almost of faction, the Essexian and the Cecilian, with their adherents, both well enough enjoying the present, and yet both looking to the future, and therefore both holding correspondency with some of the principal in Scotland, and had received advertisements and instructions, either from them, or immediately from the king. But lest they might detect one another, this was mysteriously carried by several instruments and conducts, and on the Essexian side, in truth with infinite hazard; for Sir Robert Cecil, who

[a] Burnet, p. 6.

ceeding Elizabeth, in which he was successful, as the event shewed; though how wise,

(as secretary of state) did dispose the public addresses, had prompter and safer conveyance; whereupon I cannot but relate a memorable passage on either party, as the story following shall declare. The earl of Essex had accommodated master Anthony Bacon in a partition of his house, and had assigned him a noble entertainment. This was a gentleman of impotent feet, but a nimble head, and through his hand ran all the intelligences with Scotland, who being of a provident nature (contrary to his brother the lord viscount St. Albans) and well knowing the advantage of a dangerous secret, would many times cunningly let fall some words, as if he could much amend his fortunes under the Cecilians, (to whom he was near of alliance and in blood also) and who had made (as he was not unwilling should be believed) some great proffers to win him away; which once or twice he pressed so far, and with such tokens and signs of apparent discontent to my lord Henry Howard, afterwards earl of Northampton, (who was of the party, and stood himself in much umbrage with the queen) that he flies presently to my lord of Essex (with whom he was commonly *primæ admissionis*, by his bed-side in the morning) and tells him, that unless that gentleman were presently satisfied with some round sum, all would be vented. This took the earl at that time ill provided (as indeed oftentimes his coffers were low) whereupon he was fain suddenly to give him Essex house, which the good old lady Walsingham did afterwards disengage out of her own store with 2500 pounds: and before he had distilled 1500 pounds at another time by the same skill.

or rather honest, those were who admitted

So as we may rate this one secret, as it was finely carried, at 4000 pounds in present money, besides at the least a 1000 pounds of annual pension to a private and bed-rid gentleman: what would he have gotten if he could have gone about his own business? There was another accident of the same nature on the Cecilian side, much more pleasant but less chargeable, for it cost nothing but wit. The queen having for a good while not heard any thing from Scotland, and being thirsty of news, it fell out that her majesty going to take the air towards the heath (the court being then at Greenwich) and master secretary Cecil then attending her, a post came crossing by, and blew his horn; the queen out of curiosity asked him from whence the dispatch came; and being answered from Scotland, she stops the coach, and calleth for the packet. The secretary, though he knew there were in it some letters from his correspondents, which to discover were as so many serpents; yet made more shew of diligence than of doubt to obey; and asks some that stood by (forsooth in great haste) for a knife to cut up the packet (for otherwise perhaps he might have awaked a little apprehension) but in the mean time approaching with the packet in his hand, at a pretty distance from the queen, he telleth her, it looked and smelled ill favouredly, coming out of a filthy budget, and that it should be fit first to open and air it, because he knew she was averse from ill scents. And so being dismissed home, he got leisure by this seasonable shift, to sever what he would not have seen[a]."

[a] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 168. 8vo. Lond. 1672. See also Birch's Introduction to his Historical View, p. 21.

him without any limitations, or restrictions, is not over difficult to guess[21]. Eli-

[21] How wise, or rather how honest, those were who admitted him without any limitations, or restrictions, is not over difficult to guess.] No time can be so proper for a people to claim their just rights and privileges, and curb the regal power within proper bounds, as the accession of a stranger king, who, it may naturally be supposed, at such a time will do any thing reasonable, rather than disgust those whom he is about to rule over, or impede his own advancement; for the desire of rule is so very natural, that few will stand upon trifles in order to enjoy it; nor will any refuse to grant the just conditions of it. A people, therefore, when about to place a foreign prince on the throne, ought well to consider what grievances they have laboured under, what exorbitances have been committed, and what restrictions of the regal power, prone always to extend itself, are necessary, in order to secure the happiness of the society. By these considerations proper laws might be formed, which will be as a rule to a prince how to behave, and restrain him within the bounds of equity. Nor will the most ambitious prince, who has a regard to his own safety, dare break through what he has consented to, as the terms of his admission. And therefore the lords and commons, February 13, 1688, with great wisdom presented to the then prince and princess of Orange, a declaration of the rights and liberties of the subject, previous to the setting the crown on their heads; the several articles of which they "claimed, demanded, and insisted upon as their undoubted rights and privileges; and it was declared and enacted, that all and singular

zabeth, after having reigned with the highest glory more than forty-four years, at length

the rights and privileges asserted and claimed in the said declaration, are the true, antient, and undubitable rights and liberties of the people of this kingdom, and so shall be esteemed, allowed, adjudged, deemed and taken to be; and that all and every the particulars therein contained, shall be firmly and strictly holden and observed; and all officers and ministers whatsoever, shall serve their majesties and their successors, according to the same in all times to come[a]." And the event shewed how wisely this was enacted; for it produced a reign most happy to the subject, and laid a foundation for all the blessings we now enjoy. But when the death of the duke of Gloucester[b] rendered it necessary to provide for the succession to the crown, in order to prevent all imaginable inconveniencies, it was thought proper still farther to pass an Act for the better securing the rights and liberties of the subject; and accordingly many excellent conditions were laid down on which the stranger prince was to succeed[c]. I call them excellent conditions, though Burnet tells us, "King William was not pleased with them, supposing they implied a reflection on him and his administration[d]." 'Tis not improbable the knowledge of the persons who proposed these conditions, and the opposition he had many times undeservedly met with from them, might make that truly good prince have no favourable opinion of this act enacted by them.

[a] Vid. Stat. Sess. secund. anno primo Gulielmi & Mariæ, cap. 2. per totum. [b] July 30, 1700. [c] Statutes anno duodecimo & decimo tertio Gulielmi III. regis, c. 2. sect. 3. [d] Burnet, vol. V. p. 523.

submitted to the stroke of death, March 24, 1603, in the seventieth year of her age, and

But, whatever were the motives of the framers of this act, I think all impartial persons must allow that it was a good one in itself, productive of much happiness to these kingdoms. Every particular I approve not, but, in general, highly applaud it.

These were instances of wisdom, prudence and discretion, and as such they will be admired and praised through all generations.————But James had no limitations or restrictions laid on him; he without any ceremony was proclaimed king, and by that title thought he had a right to do as he pleased. Whatever had been done by the prerogative royal in aforetimes, whatever the most enterprizing princes had attempted on the liberties of the subject, he had liberty to do likewise; and accordingly exerted himself in a very extraordinary manner, as I shall hereafter shew. Whereas had he been tied up, whatever had been his weakness, whatever his depravity of heart, he could have done but little mischief; and the miseries brought on the people by his successors, might have been prevented. This Sir Walter Raleigh, Lord Cobham, Sir John Fortescue, &c. were sensible of, and therefore desired he might be obliged to articles; but Cecil, Northumberland, and others over-ruled them, and permitted him to enter uncontrouled[a].

To these men then, the nation in a good part owed the calamities it suffered from the Stuart race. They might easily have prevented them, but they would not attempt it; doubtless hoping hereby to make their

[a] Osborn, p. 470.

thereby made way for James, to the incredible joy of his Scottish subjects, and to the no less pleasure of his English ones, who in such crouds hastened to see him, that he issued out a proclamation against their thronging about him.

In his coming to London he displayed something of his arbitrary disposition, by ordering[a] a cutpurse to be hanged without any legal process; as quickly afterwards he did his revenge on one [22]Valentine Tho-

court to James, and enjoy his favour, from whence what they wished for must flow. Wretched meanness of spirit this! inexcusable disregard for the public! 'Tis allowable for ministers to avail themselves of their own services, and their prince's favour; but the man who sacrifices the interest of his country, or neglects taking those steps which are necessary to establish its happiness, when he has it in his power, deserves to be treated with hatred and contempt, let his abilities be ever so great. The good of the people is the supreme law. By this the actions of all ministers are to be tried, and he, who, to please a prince or obtain wealth and honour for himself, shall act inconsistent therewith, merits the highest punishments; for he must be lost to liberty, virtue, and his country.

[22] Valentine Thomas, &c.] "In the year 1598, this man being in custody for theft, charged the Scots king with ill designs against the queen. But her ma-

[a] Coke's Detection, vol. I. p. 5. 8vo. Lond. 1696.

mas, who had many years before accused him of having ill designs against Elizabeth;

jesty (says secretary Cecil, in a letter to Mr. Edmondes) deferred his arraignment, and suppresseth the matter, to avoid offence to the king of Scots, who hath very vehemently denied it with detestation. The king of Scots had wrote to the queen on the 30th of July 1598, upon this affair, in these terms: 'my suit only is, that, while ye hear further from me (which shall be with all diligence) ye would favour me so far as to delay the fellow's execution, if he be yet alive, to the effect, that by some honourable means, wherein I am to deal with you, my undeserved slander may be removed from the minds of men.' The queen, on the other hand, sent instructions to Sir William Bowes, her embassador at Edinburgh, to assure king James, that she had stayed Thomas's arraignment, and would do so as long as the king should give no cause to the contrary.——But that king kept a severe memory of the accusation cast upon him by Valentine Thomas; and upon his accession to the crown of England, and within a month after his arrival in London, in the beginning of June 1603, ordered him to be brought to his trial and executed[a]." This every one will easily see was revenge, and a very mean revenge too. After five years to take away a fellow's life for an accusation against himself, (for that 'tis easily seen was the cause, though the former theft was the pretence) could proceed from nothing but so cowardly a principle. I say cowardly; for James himself tells us, "rancor and revenge proceeds from baseness and want of courage in

[a] Birch's Negotiations between England, France, and Brussels, p. 177—179.

hereby making good the observation that cowards never forgive.

He was attended by great numbers of Scots in his coming into England, who

men, and even amongst beasts and creeping things, it proceeds of a defect and want of courage in them. ———And it is a known and undeniable truth, that cowards are much more cruel and vindictive than men of courage are: for a coward can never enough secure himself of his enemy; insomuch as when he is lying dead at his feet, he is yet afraid[a]." Never was the truth of this doctrine better exemplified than in the execution of Thomas; and therefore I had reason to say, that James thereby made good the observation, that cowards never forgive.——How much more amiable is the character of those princes who have forgot, on their accession to the throne, personal injuries? how deservedly famous is the saying of Lewis XII. of France, in answer to those who would have persuaded him to shew severity to La Tremouille: "God forbid that Lewis XII. should revenge the quarrels of the duke of Orleans[b]." This was truly great and magnanimous. But James's conduct was wholly mean, and betrayed the poorness of his soul.

——— Quippe minuti
Semper & infirmi est animi exiguique voluptas
Ultio[c].——

—— Revenge, which still we find
The weakest frailty of a feeble mind. CREECH.

[a] King James's Works, p. 537. [b] See Bolingbroke's Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, p. 248. 8vo. Lond. 1749. [c] Juvenal, Sat. 13. v. 189.

were advanced to great honours[23], and shar-

[23] He was attended by a large number of Scots, who were advanced to great honours.] "The persons who attended him were the duke of Lennox, the earls of Marr, Murray, and Argile, the lord Hume, Sir George Hume, Mr. James Elphinston, Sir David Murray, Sir Robert Ker, with the ordinary gentlemen of the chamber, besides several of the clergy [a]." But besides these, there were a great multitude who came in with him, and reaped the benefit of his favour. Lennox, Marr, Hume, and Elphinstone were made privy counsellors of England, and many of the Scots became afterwards adorned with some of the highest English titles. Sir Robert Ker [b] was advanced to the earldom of Somerset, Lennox was made duke of Richmond, Esme Stuart, his younger brother was created earl of March, the marquis of Hamilton earl of Cambridge, Sir John Ramsey viscount Haddington of Scotland, earl of Holderness, and James Hay earl of Carlisle [c]. Nor were they bare honours which the Scots got, for they had also large lucrative posts, and uncommon donations, as will appear bye and bye. So that there seems some reason for the following lines of a satyrical writer, though they are much too severe.

"The [d] royal branch from Pictland did succeed,
With troops of Scots and scabs from north by Tweed.
The seven first years of his pacific reign,
Made him and half his nation Englishmen.
Scots from the northern frozen banks of Tay,
With packs and plods came whigging all away.

[a] Spotswood, p. 47. [b] Thus his name is always written by the Scottish writers, and not Carr, as by the English. [c] Baker's Chronicle, p. 448. Lond. 1684. fol. [d] King James.

ed largely in his bounty, at the expence and much to the regret of the English nation [24],

> Thick as the locusts which in Egypt swarm'd,
> With pride and hungry hopes completely arm'd:
> With native truth, diseases, and no money,
> Plunder'd our Canaan of the milk and honey.
> Here they grew quickly lords and gentlemen,
> And all their race are true-born Englishmen [a]."

Had there been then an union of the two kingdoms, this had doubtless been good policy; but as there was not, these promotions could serve no other end, but to create jealousies among the English, and excite complaints. For why should men of another country have the power of legislation? why should they whose property lay elsewhere, and whose connexions were at a distance, have a power of enacting laws which they themselves might easily get out of the reach of, and their families be wholly free from? But such was the will of James, who, though he seldom considered himself, cared not to be counselled, and therefore generally acted unwisely.

[24] Shared largely in his bounty, at the expence and much to the regret of the English.] Osborn observes, that the "exactions rose on the English were spent upon the Scots, by whom nothing was unasked, and to whom nothing was denied; who for want of honest traffic did extract gold out of the faults of the English, whose pardons they begged, and sold at intolerable rates, murther itself not being excepted [b]." The same writer tells us, "that the earl of Dunbar swallowed at one gulp, together with the chancellorship of the exchequer, all the standing wardrobe, wherein were more

[a] State Poems, vol. II. p. 21. Lond. 1703. 8vo.
[b] Osborn's Works, p. 495.

to whom it is, with some good degree of

jewels, pearl, rich robes, and princely apparel, than ever any king of Scotland (if all of them put together) could call his own before; all which I have since heard rated by the officers at an incredible sum, whose servants did use to shew them for money, it appearing none of the least rarities in London before this great dissolution[a]." Lord Clarendon assures us, "that James Hay, earl of Carlisle, spent in a very jovial life, above four hundred thousand pounds, which, upon a strict calculation, he received from the crown[b]."—— Robert Ker, earl of Somerset, had such vast favours bestowed upon him, that even at the time of his fall, his estate was rated to the crown at three hundred thousand pounds[c]." And Sir John Ramsay, when made a viscount, had a thousand pounds land given him to support the title[d]. Again, says Osborn, "the Scots hung on James like horse-leeches, till they could get no more, falling then off by retiring into their own country, or living at ease, leaving all chargeable attendance on the English[e]." This is likewise confirmed by Frankland. The king's gifts in lands to the Scots, unthankfully and unfittingly, they sold (says he) conveying that treasure into Scotland[f]. These passages sufficiently shew how much of the wealth of England was bestowed on the Scots, and how much cause the English had to be displeased at it; for there was not one of these men that was any way useful to the English nation, though Dunbar and Carlisle were men of great abilities; and therefore there could be no

[a] Osborn's Works, p. 516. [b] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 62. 8vo. Oxford, 1712. [c] Osborn, p. 517. [d] Winwood's Memorial, vol. II. p. 217. [e] Osborn, p. 532. [f] Annals of King James, p. 10. Lond. 1681. fol.

probability, said, that they behaved with much rudeness and insolency [25].

cause for these excessive donations.——The king himself was sensible that his liberality to the Scots was very distasting, and therefore apologizes for it in a speech to the parliament, and promises for the future to be more sparing. Let us hear his words. "Had I been over-sparing to them, they might have thought Joseph had forgotten his brethren, or that the king had been drunk with his new kingdom. If I did respect the English when I came first,——what might the Scottish have justly said, if I had not in some measure dealt bountifully with them that so long had served me, so far adventured themselves with me, and been so faithful to me?——Such particular persons of the Scottish nation, as might claim any extraordinary merit at my hands, I have already reasonably rewarded; and I can assure you, that there is none left whom for I mean extraordinary to strain myself further[a]." This was spoken Anno 1607, a little before his majesty received Ker as a favourite, and heaped on him such immense treasures and large possessions as I have just mentioned. Well therefore might the English grumble, despise the king, and hate his countrymen, by whom they were thus fleeced.

[25] To whom they behaved with much rudeness and insolency.] This is attested by the following homely lines, which were every where posted.

> "They beg our lands, our goods, our lives,
> They switch our nobles, and lie with their wives;
> They pinch our gentry, and send for our benchers;
> They stab our sergeants, and pistol our fencers."

[a] King James's Works, p. 515. See also p. 542.

However the English were not neglected by James, for on them also he heaped ho-

Mr. Osborn has explained these in a very entertaining manner, to whose works I refer the inquisitive reader [a].——Not contented to drain the kingdom of its wealth, and snatch its honours, they moreover claimed precedency of the English nobility of the same rank. ——"At a supper made by the lady Elizabeth Hatton, there grew a question between the earls of Argile and Pembroke, about place, which the Scot maintained to be his by seniority, as being now become all Britons: at which our nobility began to startle [b]." And no wonder, for whatever might be the antiquity of many of the Scotch nobility, on which probably they valued themselves; yet that could entitle them to no place in England, any farther than what courtesy and civility might require. To set up a claim of right to superiority by reason of it, could be looked on as nothing but an insult, and as such, doubtless, was resented. Indeed the Scots seemed so unable to bear their good fortune, and the English were so provoked at their insolent behaviour, that it was almost a miracle it had not issued in torrents of blood [c].——A lesson this to princes not to be too bountiful to persons used to low circumstances; seeing it will only tend to inspire them with pride and haughtiness, and excite envy and contempt in standers-by; much more not to enrich aliens at the expence of the natives, and cause them to lift too high their heads. There may indeed be exceptions to this rule, as when distinguished merit and great abilities are possessed, and these exerted for the good of a coun-

[a] Osborn, p. 504. p. 452 of the edition in 1682. [b] Winwood's Memorials, vol. III. p. 117. [c] See Osborn, p. 595.

nours in abundance[26]; and 'tis certain,

try; but where these are not, or not in a most eminent degree, it is weakness and imprudence to heap favours, which will not fail to bring on complaints, uneasinesses, and distresses on the conferrors.

[26] Honours in abundance were heaped on the English also.] James in his speech to the parliament, Anno 1609, owns that they saw him at his entrance into England, "make knights by hundreths, and barons in great number[a]." This account is not beyond the truth. For Sir Richard Baker, who had the honour of knighthood from him at that time, tells us, that "before his first year went about, he made God knows how many hundred knights[b]." And if a certain author is to be credited, in the two first years of James's reign, no less than one thousand twenty-two knights were made by him[c]. A prodigious number this! and such as almost exceeds belief. But the authorities already quoted in this remark, may possibly reconcile us unto it. For when knights were made by hundreds, a large sum total must run up in a comparatively short space of time.——But James contented not himself with dubbing knights; he made barons also, and enlarged the peerage to a great degree. In the first year of his reign he made four earls and nine barons, among whom were Henry Howard, created earl of Northampton, Thomas Howard earl of Suffolk, and the famous Sir Robert Cecil, lord Cecil, afterwards earl of Salisbury. These were persons who had dexterity enough to insinuate themselves into James's favour, and obtain almost whatever they had a-mind to, for themselves or

[a] King James's Works, p. 542. [b] Baker's Chronicle, p. 402.
[c] Vid. Osborn's Catalogue of the Library of Webb, &c. p. 66. 1751.

that a great many particular persons obtained great wealth, and large possessions from

dependants; these were the persons who transacted most of the business of state during their lives, and reaped very great rewards by reason of it, as will soon appear. So that though James was lavish of his honours on his own countrymen, the English could not say they were slighted; for he created so great a number of them peers, that, with the Scots already mentioned, no less than 62 were added to that illustrious body by him [a]. This occasioned a "pasquil to be pasted up in St. Paul's, wherein was pretended an art to help weak memories to a competent knowledge of the names of the nobility [b]." Had these great dignities been conferred only on the deserving, there would have been little room for complaint. But "the honours James bestowed were in so lavish a manner, and with so little distinction, that they ceased in some sense to be honours [c]."——This was highly injurious to the character of the conferror, and a contempt cast on those whose birth and great virtues intitled them to such distinctions. It shewed a want of judgment in James, and tended to take off that reverence which ought to be kept up in the minds of the people towards the English nobility. For what must men think of the understanding of that prince, who could place among the great council of the nation, John Villiers, Christopher Villiers, and Lyonel Cranfield? In how contemptible a light must the peerage be viewed by those who knew that these men had no pretence to such an ho-

[a] Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. VII. p. 135. 8vo. Lond. 1741.
[b] Wilson, p. 7. [c] Remarks on the History of England, by Humphrey Oldcastle, Esq; p. 235. 8vo. Lond. 1743.

him[27], to the impoverishing of the crown,

nour, but as related to George Villiers, the insolent prime minister?——'Twere to be wished that the greatest care at all times was taken not to debase so illustrious an order of men by undeserved creations, and that nothing but real merit was the occasion of them. Then would the prince be applauded, the dignity of the peers be preserved, and all due deference paid to their decisions. But when it is known publickly, that undeserving men are advanced to this elevated rank in order to serve a party or please a favourite, then do men murmur at the crown, and pay little respect to those thus distinguished by it. For the public will judge of persons as they are; titles and coronets cannot bias its judgment, or cause it to applaud the ignorant or unworthy.

[27] Many persons obtained great wealth, and large possessions from him.] "They that then lived at court, and were curious observers of every man's actions, could have affirmed that Salisbury, Suffolk, and Northampton, and their friends, did get more than the whole nation of Scotland (Dunbar excepted).———All the Scots in general scarce got the tythe of those English getters, that can be said did stick by them, or their posterity. Besides Salisbury had one trick to get the kernel, and leave the Scots but the shell, yet cast all the envy upon them; he would make them buy books of fee-farms, some one hundred pounds per annum, some one hundred marks, and he would compound with them for a thousand pounds, which they were willing to embrace, because they were sure to have them pass without any controul or charge, and one thousand pounds appeared to them that never saw ten pounds before, an inexhaustible treasure; then would Salisbury fill up

and the reducing himself in a few years to great want. He soon shewed his gratitude

this book with such prime land as should be worth ten or twenty thousand pounds, which was easy for him, being treasurer, so to do; and by this means Salisbury enriched himself infinitely, yet cast the envy on the Scots, in whose names these books appeared, and are still upon record to all posterity; though Salisbury had the honey, they, poor gentlemen, but part of the wax[a]."—Wilson tells us, "that James being one day in his gallery at Whitehall, and none with him but Sir Henry Rich (afterwards earl of Holland) and James Maxwell, some porters past by them, with three thousand pounds going to the privy purse: Rich whispering Maxwell, the king turned upon them, and asked Maxwell what says he? what says he? Maxwell told him, he wished he had so much money; Marry shalt thou Harry (saith the king) and presently commanded the porters to carry it to his lodging, with this expression, you think now you have a great purchase, but I am more delighted to think how much I have pleasured you in giving this money, than you can be in receiving it[b]." And Sir Philip Herbert (afterwards earl of Pembroke) on his marriage with the lady Susan Vere, had a gift of the king of 500*l.* land for the bride's jointure[c].—In short, James himself assures us, "that he had dealt twice as much amongst the Englishmen as he had done to Scotishmen[d]."——The truth is, those of the English who had the king's ear, and could fall

[a] Sir Anthony Weldon's Court and Character of King James, p. 54, 55. 12mo. Lond. 1651. See also Raleigh's Works, vol. I. p. 201. 8vo. Lond 1751. [b] Wilson, p. 76. [c] Winwood, vol. II. 4. 43. [d] King James's Works, p. 542.

to Elizabeth for the crown she had left him, by permitting no one to appear in mourning for her[28] before him, and even

readily into his humours, and contribute to his pleasures and amusements, were sure of being enriched by him. The true courtier in this reign had a good time of it, for James was thoughtless and inconsiderate, and never knew the value of money till he was in want of it. But merit, as such, was always neglected or overlooked by him; he knew it not, or regarded it not, but preferred his flatterers to all others.

[28] He shewed his gratitude to Elizabeth, by permitting no one to appear in mourning for her before him.] For this curious particular we are indebted to the duke of Sully, whose account cannot but be looked on as most authentic. "One part of the orders I had given, (says he, speaking of his English embassage) in regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue shall appear in mourning; whereby I should execute the first part of my commission, which consisted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth; though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambassador, foreign or English, was admitted into the presence of the new king in black: and Beaumont (the French resident) had since represented to me, that what I intended would most certainly be highly disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great queen, that she was never spoke of, and even the mention of her name industriously avoided. I should have been very glad not to have been sensible of the necessity under which I was of appearing in a garb,

speaking himself not only without gratitude,

which would seem to cast a reproach on the king and all England; but my orders were hereupon positive, not to mention that they were also most laudable: and this was the reason I paid no regard to Beaumont, who intreated me to defer putting myself to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erskine, and some others, who were best acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no answer on Thursday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday; and I still persisted in my resolution, notwithstanding the reasons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erskine had sent to acquaint him, that the whole court considered my intention as a premeditated affront; and that I had so offended the king by it, that nothing could more effectually prevent the success of my negotiation from its very commencement. This information agreeing with that of my lord Sidney, &c. it was impossible for me to be in doubt about it: and through fear lest a greater evil might ensue, I caused all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themselves others as well as they could. Leukoner (master of the ceremonies) being come the next morning to inform me, that I should be presented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon; I perceived from the satisfaction which he expressed at the new orders which I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to vanquish my repugnance: nevertheless, it publicly gained me as much honour as if I had persisted in it throughout, because none were ignorant I had complied only

respect, or regard of her; but also with contempt, to the amazement of standers-

through absolute necessity [a]." I make no apology for the length of this quotation; readers of taste will be glad to find it here, and will not fail of remarking on the unaccountable ingratitude and weakness of James. His obligations to Elizabeth were great; she had supplied him constantly with money when in Scotland, and though she had a power, with consent of parliament, she gave not away the crown of England from him; on her death-bed she declared him her heir, and in consequence thereof he took peaceable possession of the throne. Ought he not then to have retained a respect for her memory, and treated her name with honour? should he not have owned his obligations, and celebrated her fame? should he have forbid his subjects mourning for the loss of so excellent a princess, or refused compliments of condolence from foreigners on the account of it? What! should the memory of such a princess be obliterated in a few months, even in her own court, and the glory of all her great actions be forgotten? Must her humbling Spain, her supporting the protestant interest abroad, and establishing it at home; her attention to the national interest and honour, and raising the English crown to be the envy and admiration of Europe; must these be unspoken, uncelebrated? such was the intention of James. But posterity more grateful, more just than that court, has mentioned her name with honour, and sounded forth the glories of her reign. To resemble her has been thought honourable to princes, and her government has been set forth as a model for their imitation.—So that envy, igno-

[a] Sully's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 19.

by [29]. He was excessively addicted to ease

rance, spite, revenge and malice, with their united force, avail little against the reputations founded on great and beneficent actions; and the true hero, the patriot prince, may despise their efforts, and rest secure that in the annals of after-ages, their characters shall shine with the greatest lustre, and their actions be celebrated as they deserve. A noble motive this to generous minds to pursue the public good with earnestness! and a motive, which, if well considered, will cause them to be unwearied, and persevering in the pursuit.

[29] He spoke with contempt of her.] Sully giving an account of his first audience at court, tells us, that after James had spoken several things to him, "the late queen (Elizabeth) was mentioned, but without one word in her praise [a]." In another conversation he had with the king, he observes, "that an opportunity presenting for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and to my great regret, adds he, with some sort of contempt. He even went so far as to say, that in Scotland, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than her [b]." I doubt not Sully smiled inwardly at the vanity of James, and heartily detested his baseness with regard to the memory of Elizabeth; for no one better knew her worth than this ambassador, no one set a greater value on it. With what indignation then may we suppose him filled, when he heard her name thus treated by her successor? and what a

[a] Sully, vol. II. p. 26.

[b] Id. p. 89. compare this with what is said in note 8.

and pleasure[30], and indulged himself in

despicable opinion must he entertain of him? but he suppressed his sentiments on this head, and set himself to please him, of whom 'tis plain from his memorials, he had but a poor opinion. I shall only add here, that the highest merit cannot escape the tongues of the ignorant and malicious, though, for the most part, it is unhurt by them.

[30] He was excessively given to ease and pleasure.] Sully relates, that "James quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, sometimes the whole of it[a]."——"And his thoughts were intent on ease and pleasure, says Osborn[b]." This would have been far enough from a virtue in a private man, but in a prince it must be looked on as a vice. For the love of ease and pleasure enervates the mind, and tends to render it incapable of what is great. And there are but few princes who have indulged this disposition, that have made any greater figure in history than the prince of whom we are discoursing. Alexander, Cæsar, and Henry IV. of France, loved pleasure as well as any men; but then they had nothing indolent in their temper, and had so much ambition, that they could not possibly abstain from striving to render their names glorious. But James not only loved pleasure, but ease, and therefore was incapable of being more significant in life, than are the generality of eastern princes, immured in seraglios, and strangers to every thing but what their viziers or eunuchs please to inform them of, for their entertainment or amusement. So that princes of this indolent disposition neglect the affairs of government, and are

[a] Sully, vol. II. p. 92. [b] Osborn, p. 470.

drinking, even so far as to render himself sometimes contemptible[31]. And from his

ruled by ministers and favourites, and the people are left to be fleeced and oppressed, to supply the calls of luxury and pleasure. Unhappy princes! unhappy people! the former destitute of true worth, the latter groaning under vile bondage.—How much then does it concern those who are advanced to dominion, to exert themselves, and employ their time and talents in examining the state of those under them, and promoting their welfare? how much does it behove them to be diligent in business, skilful in affairs, and attentive to the representations and complaints of their subjects? By these means alone can they answer the end of their advancement, obtain reputation, procure success, and have the love and affection of those over whom they bear rule. To which let me add, that indolent princes are very insecure; they become victims frequently to the ambition of their own servants, and fall, though not unpitied, yet quite unlamented. For the people have sense enough to know, that a life devoted to ease and pleasure, is of no importance to them, and therefore, with indifference, see it destroyed, though by those who ought to have defended it.

[31] Indulged himself in drinking, &c.] Weldon observes, that "James was not intemperate in his drinking;" but he adds, "however in his old age, and Buckingham's jovial suppers, when he had any turn to do with him, made him sometimes overtaken, which he would the very next day remember, and repent with tears: it is true, he drank very often, which was rather out of a custom than any delight, and his drinks were of that kind for strength, as frontiniack, canary, high-country wine, tent wine, and Scotish ale, that had he

known love of masculine beauty, his exces-

not had a very strong brain, might have daily been overtaken, although he seldom drank at any one time above four spoonfulls, many times not above one or two[a]."——This is very modest in Weldon. But other authors go a little farther, and make James shew himself beneath a man by his intemperance. "The king was excessively addicted to hunting and drinking (says Coke) not ordinary French and Spanish wines, but strong Greek wines; and though he would divide his hunting from drinking these wines, yet he would compound his hunting with drinking these wines, and to that purpose he was attended with a special officer, who was as much as could be always at hand, to fill the king's cup in his hunting, when he called for it. I have heard my father say, that being hunting with the king, after the king had drank of the wine, he also drank of it, and though he was young and of an healthful constitution, it so disordered his head that it spoiled his pleasure, and disordered him for three days after. Whether it was from drinking these wines, or from some other cause, the king became so lazy and unwieldy, that he was trust on horseback, and as he was set so would he ride, without otherwise poising himself on his saddle; nay, when his hat was set on his head, he would not take the pains to alter it, but it sat as it was upon him[b]." I doubt not but this account is true, Sully taking notice, that "James's custom was never to mix water with his wine[c]." And therefore, though Sir Edward Peyton be a partial writer, and prejudiced much against the Stuart race, yet I believe the follow-

[a] Weldon, p. 166. [b] Coke's Detection, vol. I. p. 42.
[c] Sully, vol. II. p. 90.

sive favour to such as were possessed of it,

ing story from him will not be deemed improbable. "When the king of Denmark [brother-in-law to James] was first of all in England, both kings were so drunk at Theobald's, as our king was carried in the arms of the courtiers, when one cheated another of the bed-chamber, for getting a grant from king James, for that he would give him the best jewel in England for a jewel of a hundred pound he promised him; and so put king James in his arms, and carried him to his lodging, and defrauded the bed-chamber man, who had much ado to get the king into his bed. And Denmark was so disguised, as he would have lain with the countess of Nottingham, making horns in derision at her husband, the high admiral of England[a]." I said just now, this story, I believed, would not be thought improbable; and I doubt not the reader by the following letter of the countess of Nottingham to the Danish ambassador, will readily assent to it, seeing it confirms so chief a part of it as the rude behaviour of the Danish king to that lady. 'Tis wrote with spirit, and worthy perusal, which therefore I insert at large.

"SIR,

"I am very sorry this occasion should have been offered me by the king your master, which makes me troublesome to you for the present. It is reported to me by men of honour, the great wrong the king of Danes hath done me, when I was not by to answer for

[a] Peyton's Divine Catastrophe of the Kingly Family of the House of Stuarts, p. 30. 8vo. Lond. 1731. These quotations from Weldon, Coke, and Peyton, are very oddly and inaccurately expressed; but the reader must take them as they are, and not expect them to be altered in order to please.

and unseemly caresses of them, one would

myself; for if I had been present, I would have letten him know how much I scorn to receive that wrong at his hands. I need not to urge the particular of it, for the king himself knows it best. I protest to you, Sir, I did think as honourably of the king your master, as I did of my own prince; but now I persuade myself there is as much baseness in him as can be in any man; for although he be a prince by birth, it seems not to me that there harbours any princely thought in his breast; for either in prince or subject, it is the basest that can be to wrong any woman of honour. I deserve as little that name he gave me, as either the mother of himself, or of his children: and if ever I come to know what man hath informed your master so wrongfully of me, I shall do my best for putting him from doing the like to any other: but if it hath come by the tongue of any woman, I dare say she would be glad to have companions. So leaving to trouble you any further, I rest

"your friend,

"M. NOTTINGHAM [a]."

There can, I think, remain no doubt but that Peyton's account is true; and consequently, when considered with what Weldon and Coke relate, it must be believed, that James addicted himself to drinking in such a manner, as to render himself sometimes contemptible. "For it is not for kings to drink wine, nor for princes strong drink; lest they drink and forget the law, and pervert the judgment of any of the afflicted [b]." Drunkenness throws princes off their guard, and ex-

[a] Supplement to the Cabala, p. 96. 4to. Lond. 1654. [b] Prov. xxxi. 4.

be tempted to think, that he was not wholly free from a vice most unnatural[32].

poses those weaknesses which it most of all behoves them to conceal; and it takes off that reverence for their persons, which is necessary to make their subjects stand in a proper awe of them, and pay a submission to their commands. It debases the man, sinks the prince, spoils the politician, and reveals those secrets which are most necessary to be concealed. "Drunkenness, says Montaigne, seems to me to be a gross and brutish vice. The soul has the greatest interest in all the rest, and there are some vices that have something, if a man may so say, of generous in them. There are vices wherein there is a mixture of knowledge, diligence, valour, prudence, dexterity and cunning: this is totally corporeal and earthly, and the thickest skulled nation [the Germans] this day in Europe, is that where it is most in fashion. Other vices discompose the understanding, this totally overthrows it, and renders the body stupid[a]." These reflections seem just and obvious, but they occurred not to the mind of James, or made little impression on him; for he seems to have been guided in his whole behaviour more by will and humour, by passion and inclination, than by wisdom, prudence, or discretion. So that his knowledge was of little service to him, and seldom caused him to act as a wise man, or an understanding king. It enabled him to talk, but was wholly insufficient to regulate his actions; and so, in effect, was no better than ignorance.

[32] From his known love of masculine beauty, &c.] I shall give my authorities, and leave the reader to

[a] Montaigne, vol. II. p. 15.

He used cursing and swearing in his com-

judge what conclusion is to be drawn from them.—"As no other reason appeared in favour of their [the favourites of James] choice but handsomeness, so the love the king shewed, was as amorously conveyed as if he had mistaken their sex, and thought them ladies; which I have seen Somerset and Buckingham labour to resemble in the effeminateness of their dressings; though in w—— looks, and wanton gestures, they exceeded any part of woman-kind my conversation did ever cope withal. Nor was his love, or whatever else posterity will please to call it, (who must be the judges of all that history shall inform) carried on with a discretion sufficient to cover a less scandalous behaviour; for the king's kissing them after so lascivious a mode in public, and upon the theatre as it were of the world, prompted many to imagine some things done in the tyring-house, that exceed my expressions no less than they do my experience; and therefore left floating on the waves of conjecture, which hath in my hearing tossed them from one side to another. I have heard that Sir Henry Rich, since earl of Holland, and some others, refused his majesty's favour upon those conditions they subscribed to, who filled that place in his affection: Rich losing that opportunity his curious face and complexion afforded him, by turning aside and spitting after the king had slabbered his mouth[a]."—Weldon, who saw James's parting with Somerset, just before his commitment for Overbury's murther, says, "that had you seen that seeming affection, you would rather have believed he was in his rising than setting. The earl when he kissed his hand, the king hung about

[a] Osborn, p. 534.

his neck, slabbering his cheeks, saying, for God's sake when shall I see thee again? on my soul I shall neither eat nor sleep until you come again; the earl told him on Monday (this being on the Friday) for God's sake let me, said the king; shall I? shall I? then lolled about his neck; then for God's sake give thy lady this kiss for me: in the same manner at the stairs head, at the middle of the stairs, and at the stairs-foot[a]." The same writer observes, that "he was not very uxorious, for he was ever best when farthest from his queen[b]." And in another place he says, "that James naturally hated women[c]." Peyton writes, that "James was more addicted to love males than females; and that though for compliment he visited queen Ann, yet he never lodged with her a night for many years[d]."—— The following satire, said to be left on his cupboard, will shew us the sense those times had of this matter.

Aula prophana, religione vana,
Spreta uxore, Ganymedis amore,
Lege sublata, prerogativa inflata.
Tolle libertatem, incende civitatem,
Ducas spadonem
&
Suparasti Neronem[e].

I know not well the authority of the book from which I quote these lines; 'tis very bitter against the Stuart race, and written with great partiality. I am informed by a learned friend, that 'tis thought to be written by the above-cited Peyton: But I am of a different opinion. Peyton's Divine Catastrophe, though partial enough, has many true passages in it; but the Nonsuch Charles seems chiefly invention, in order to blacken

[a] Weldon, p. 95. [b] Id. p. 168. [c] Id. p. 125. [d] Peyton's Divine Catastrophe, p. 14. [e] The Nonsuch Charles, his Character, p. 17. 12mo. Lond. 1651.

and defame. Besides, such was the zeal of Peyton against Charles and his house, that I fancy he would have thought it a merit to have been the author of any work tending to its disgrace, and therefore have set his name to it; for he who had been afraid of after-resentment, would never have publickly owned the Divine Catastrophe. Add to this, that Wood, in reckoning up Peyton's writings, mentions nothing of this piece, which if it had been his 'tis difficult to account for [a]. However, as the insinuation in the satire is supported by other authorities, 'tis of little importance whether the author who gives it us be of any great account, or no.—Let us now return to our subject.—— The authors above quoted may be deemed by some not quite so favourable to the character of James as could be wished, and therefore not so much to be relied on. But what shall we say to Clarendon, who owns, that the "first introduction of George Villiers into favour, was purely from the handsomeness of his person [b]: and that the king's natural disposition was very flowing in affection towards persons so adorned." Dr. Birch observes of this same Villiers, that "he had scarce any other advantages to recommend him to his majesty, than those of a most graceful person. Upon what terms of familiarity, adds he, he was with his royal master is evident, not much to the honour of either of them, from two volumes of original letters which passed between them, still extant in the Harleian library, full of the obscenest expressions in our language, and such as Dr. Welwood, who has given some extracts from those letters, says, might make a bawd to blush to repeat. So impure a correspondence is an amazing inconsistency with those theological and de-

[a] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. II. c. 156. edit. 2. Lond. 1721. folio.
[b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 9, 10.

votional tracts which the king gave the world with so much pomp among his works, and which he caused to be translated into and published in both the Latin and French tongues [a]."

That the reader may have as much light as possible in this matter, I will transcribe Dr. Welwood's account of the letters which passed between James and Buckingham, to which Dr. Birch refers. "The letters, says he, which passed between the king and Buckingham, are wrote in a peculiar stile of familiarity, the king for the most part calling him his dear child and gossip, and his dear child and gossip Steiny; and subscribing him his dear dad and gossip, and sometimes his dear dad and Stuart; and once, when he sends him partridges, his dear dad and purveyor. Buckingham calls the king, for the most part, dear dad and gossip, and sometimes, dear dad, gossip, and Stuart; and subscribes always, your majesty's most humble slave and dog, Steiny.

"Not to blot these papers with the bawdy that is in some of these letters of king James, I shall only observe, that such was the familiarity and friendship between him and Buckingham, that in one of them he tells Buckingham, he wears Steiny's picture under his waistcoat, next his heart; and in another, he bids him, his only sweet and dear child, hasten to him to Birely that night, that his white teeth might shine upon him. But the reader may better judge of the rest of king James's familiar letters to the duke of Buckingham, by the following short one, which runs thus *verbatim*, and is without date.

"My only sweet and dear child,

"Blessing, blessing, blessing on thy heart's roots, and all thine, this Thursday morning. Here is great

[a] Birch's View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 384.

mon conversation[33]; and stuck not on oc-

store of game as they say, partridges and stoncorleurs: I know who shall get their part of them; and here is the finest company of young hounds that ever was seen. God bless the sweet master of my harriers, that made them to be so well kept all summer; I mean Tom Badger. I assure myself thou wilt punctually observe the dyet and journey I set thee down in my first letter from Theobald's. God bless thee, and my sweet Kate, and Mall, to the comfort of thy

"dear Dad,

"JAMES R.

"P.S. Let my last compliment settle to thy heart, till we have a sweet and comfortable meeting, which God send, and give thee grace to bid the drogues adieu this day.

"Now the reason why James gave Buckingham the name of Steiny, was for his handsomeness, it being the diminutive of St. Stephen, who is always painted with a glory about his face[a]."

I have now given my authorities for the assertion in the text, the inference I leave to the reader, being unwilling to say more on a subject so disagreeable to the ears of the chaste and virtuous. I have added nothing, nor suppressed any thing; and therefore, as a mere relator, am liable, I think, to no censure. Had I met with any thing favourable to James in this matter, I would have declared it with great pleasure; but I cannot allow myself to invent, in order to vindicate.

[33] He used cursing and swearing.] Here follow my proofs.——"He would make a great deal too bold

[a] Compleat History of England, vol. II. p. 697. folio. Lond. 1706.

casion, to utter the most bitter impreca-

with God in his passion, both in cursing and swearing, and one strain higher, verging on blasphemy; but would in his better temper say, he hoped God would not impute them as sins, and lay them to his charge, seeing they proceeded from passion[a]." An excellent reason this! and an admirable excuse for an acknowledged crime. James, weak as he was, would have seen the folly of this plea in others, and would have censured them for making use of it. But any thing will serve for an excuse to those who chuse to do as they have been accustomed, and will not be at the pains to reform.——That James was a swearer, appears from Lord Clarendon, who says "he renounced with many oaths the having communicated the prince's journey into Spain[b]." Oaths are highly indecent in princes: they are greatly impolitic also, as lessening the regard which ought to be paid unto them in courts of judicature, and leading thereby to perjury. Princes therefore should shew the greatest reverence to oaths, in order thereby to keep up their sacredness, and secure the truth and fidelity of their subjects. Those of them who will not thus behave, pay generally very dear for their liberty; for their servants and subjects taking example by them, run into the same excess, whereby they receive the greatest damage. So that interest alone, if well understood and considered, will engage those who bear rule, to set before men good examples, and abstain from the appearance of evil; and such of them as are not induced hereunto by a sense of it, have no great reason to boast of their understanding.

[a] Weldon, p. 172. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 16.

tions on himself, and on his posterity[34].

[34] He stuck not to utter the most bitter imprecations on himself, and on his posterity.] When the trial of the murtherers of Sir Thomas Overbury was going forwards, the king went from Whitehall to Theobald's, and so to Royston, and having sent for all the judges, he kneeled down in the midst of his lords and servants, and used these words to the judges. "My lords, I charge you, as you will answer it at that great and dreadful day of judgment, that you examine it [the poisoning of Overbury] strictly without favour, affection, or partiality; and if you spare any guilty of this crime, God's curse light upon you and your posterity; and if I spare any that are found guilty, God's curse light on me and my posterity for ever[a]." And in the second year of his reign "several lords having declared in the star-chamber, that some of the puritans had raised a false rumour of the king, how he intended to grant a toleration to papists; the lords severally declared, how the king was discontented with the said false rumour, and had made but the day before a protestation unto them, that he never intended it, and that he would spend the last drop of his blood before he would do it; and prayed, that before any of his issue should maintain any other religion than what he truly professed and maintained, that God would take them out of the world[b]." These are deep and horrible imprecations, and enough to make a man tremble to think on the profaneness of the mouth that could utter them; especially when it is known (that notwithstanding

[a] Weldon, p. 93. [b] Croke's Reports, part 2. p. 38. Lond. 1683, folio.

And yet notwithstanding, upon times, he gave himself great airs of religion[35], and

there were so many witnesses to these his words) he spared Somerset and his lady, the principal actors in Overbury's tragedy; and that he not only intended, but did grant a toleration to papists, as will be shewn hereafter. How far his imprecations have affected his posterity, is not, I think for man to say. But, without breach of charity, we may assert, that James was very rash and inconsiderate, and guilty of a great fault in calling down the judgments of heaven thus on himself and his family. 'Tis good advice which the wise man gives, and which was worthy of the regard of this British Solomon, in the following words, "Be not rash with thy mouth, and let not thy heart be hasty to utter any thing before God; for God is in heaven, and thou upon earth; therefore let thy words be few[a]." A sense of the omnipresence, power, wisdom, and majesty of the superintending mind, would have restrained James from these rash and horrible wishes; but he seems to have had little notion of any of these things, but rather to have been one of those who deal in holy things without any feeling. These, in lord Bacon's opinion, are "the great atheists, who must, says he, be needs cauterized in the end[b]." Deplorable state! dismal condition! happy those, who, by an uniform course of virtuous actions, can look on the almighty Being as their friend! who are careful at all times to do what they themselves think right, and agreeable to him: the religion of such is real, and their happiness certain.

[35] He gave himself airs of religion, &c.] Here

[a] Eccles. v. 2. [b] Bacon's Essay on Atheism.

talked after such a manner, as to lead those

follows a passage from Sully, tending to verify the text. "James asked me, says he, whether I went to the protestant church in London? upon my replying that I did, then, said he, you are not resolved, as I have been informed, to quit our religion, after the example of Sancy, who thought thereby to make his fortune, but by God's permission, did just the contrary. I treated this report as a calumny, and said, that my living in France in friendship with so many ecclesiasticks, and being so frequently visited by the pope's nuncio, might, perhaps, have given rise to it. Do you give the pope the title of holiness? said James. I replied, that, to conform to the custom established in France, I did. He was then for proving to me, that this custom was an offence against God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I replied, that I supposed a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by so frequently giving to princes such titles as they were well known not to deserve[a]." Let us add the following memorandum of the illustrious archbishop Usher to Sully, and we shall need nothing more to convince us of the solemn airs of religion James, at some times, could put on. "I was appointed by the lower house of parliament, to preach at St. Margaret's, Westminster, Feb. 7, 1620. Feb. 13, being Shrove Tuesday, I dined at court, and betwixt four and five kissed the king's hand, and had conference with him touching my sermon. He said, I had charge of an unruly flock to look unto the next Sunday. He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be

[a] Sully's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 33.

who were unacquainted with him, to be-

tied (upon so short warning) to receive the communion upon a day, all could not be in charity, after so late contentions in the house: many must needs come without preparation, and eat their own condemnation: that himself required all his whole houshold to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of preparation. He bad me to tell them, I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their prince and country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times, and the miserable state of Christendom, with *bis dat qui citò dat*[a]."——This kind of talk would have suited well enough the mouth of some honest, well-meaning ecclesiastic, and edified, no doubt, very much those who heard it. But it sounds strange from James, who was addicted to so many vices, and whose oaths and imprecations were so common. Shall we suppose him wholly hypocritical in these speeches, and entirely unconcerned about the things he talked of; though from other parts of his behaviour, one might be led to make this conclusion, yet, perhaps, we should be mistaken in so doing. For, however it be, men's characters are too often inconsistent, and they strangely blend what they call religion, with the practice of the most odious and detestable vices. By a concern for the one, they excuse to themselves the other, and so come at length to imagine, that they are acceptable to the Deity, though they break the most sacred of his laws. Thus we read of John Basilides, great duke of Muscovy, the

[a] Usher's Life and Letters by Parr, p. 17, 18. Lond. 1686. folio.

lieve that he had a more than ordinary de-

most wicked of men, the most detestable of tyrants, that he would pray and fast in a most extraordinary manner, and be as devout as possible himself, and make others so too [a]. And, in the same manner, numbers of cruel persecutors, and ambitious, selfish, avaritious wretches, are exceedingly zealous and exact in their devotions, and come not behind, in these things, the most sincere and virtuous persons. So that 'tis not improbable James might be in earnest when he talked in these strains, and please himself to think, that he was both so wise and so religious a king. Amazing delusion! terrible deceit! To the all-piercing eye of heaven all is naked and open, no disguises can conceal from, no artifices impose on it; and therefore men should look well to it, that they are what they would seem to be.——A prince openly vicious and profane, only hurts the interest of religion, by appearing, on occasion, its votary. Standers-by will look with ridicule and abhorrence on his interesting himself in its affairs, and will not be prevailed on to believe that he is in earnest about it.———Hence possibly it has come to pass, that courts have been so little famed for the practice of religion. For the manners of the generality of princes being not over good, those about them think they shall pay their court to them more by conforming to their example, than by obeying their edict. When they speak therefore of religion, they are not listened unto; when they command, by those about them, they are not obeyed: for they are considered as only acting a part, and there

[a] See Casaubon of Enthusiasm, p. 279. 8vo. Lond. 1656.

gree of sanctity. Hunting[36] was a fa-

fore having no real concern about what they seem to engage in.

[36] Hunting was a favourite diversion with him, &c.] Let us hear Sully. "From this subject [the insincerity of the Spaniards] the king of England passed to that of the chace, for which he shewed me an extraordinary passion. He said he knew very well that I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late success of his sport to me, not as marquis of Rosny, but as ambassador from the king, who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world; to which, with the greatest politeness, he added, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chace, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chace, the king of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exercises; but that none of them ever made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers[a]." Had James imitated his brother of France in attending his affairs, and inspecting the proceeding of his ministers, he might have enjoyed the pleasure of hunting without censure. For 'tis but reasonable that princes should have a relaxation from business as well as other men.

But says Mr. Chamberlaine to Mr. Winwood, in a letter dated Jan. 26, 1604, "the king finds that felicity in that hunting life, that he hath written to the council, that it is the only means to maintain his health, which being the health and welfare of us all,

[a] Sully, vol. II p. 29.

vourite diversion with him, which he practised so much, as to neglect the great and

he desires them to take the charge and burden of affairs, and foresee that he be not interrupted nor troubled with too much business[a]." A man who preferred hunting to the affairs of state, was unworthy of the crown he wore, and undeserving the regard of his people. For such a one neglected the end of his appointment, and therefore merited the contempt he met with.——James never loved business. "In Scotland, says Melvil, the earl of Arran desired him to recreate himself at hunting, and he would attend the council, and report again at his majesty's return, all our opinions and conclusions[b]." He hearkened to his advice, or rather followed his own inclinations, and thereby numberless mischiefs ensued. He was never the wiser for this we see; for his aversion to business was the same, and so was his passion for hunting: so that he had lived to no purpose, and was incapable of being taught by experience.

Osborn tells us, he saw "him dressed in colours green as the grass he trod on, with a feather in his cap, and a horn instead of a sword by his side[c]." A pretty picture this of a prince, and tending to excite much reverence in the beholders. But when men's minds are bent on diversions, they care for nothing more than their own pleasure and amusement, and are thoughtless of what standers-by think or say of them. ——I will give the reader some fine observations on this subject of hunting, from a writer whose great genius and elevated rank entitle him to be heard with deference and respect, and with them conclude the

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 46. [b] Melvil, p. 139. [c] Osborn, p. 495.

weighty business of state, and leave every thing of consequence to be transacted by his council, to his no small dishonour.

note. "Hunting is one of those sensual pleasures which exercise the body, without affecting the mind; it is an ardent desire of pursuing some wild beast, for the cruel satisfaction of destroying it; an amusement which renders the body robust and active, and leaves the mind fallow and uncultivated. Sportsmen, perhaps, will reproach me here with gravity and preaching, and alledge, that I assume the prerogative of a priest in his pulpit, who may assert whatever he pleases, without being afraid of contradiction. Hunting, say they, is the noblest and most antient of all amusements: the patriarchs and many other eminent men were hunters; and by this we continue to exercise that dominion over the beasts, which God vouchsafed to give Adam. But no folly is the better for being antient, especially if it is carried to extravagance: many great men, I own, have been passionately fond of this diversion; but these had their weaknesses as well as perfections: Let us imitate their great qualities, without copying after their little and idle occupations. The same patriarchs were not only given to hunting, but to polygamy, nay, would marry their own sisters, and had many other customs which savoured of the barbarous ages wherein they lived. They were rude, ignorant, and uncultivated idle men, who, to kill time, employed it in hunting, and threw away those moments in useless amusements, which they had no capacity to employ in the company and conversation of men of understanding. Let me now ask whether these are examples to be imitated; whether

He had a vehement desire to be thought learned, and master of the controversies

these barbarous ages, or others that were more refined, ought to be the model of the present? To enquire whether Adam received dominion over the beasts, would be foreign to my subject; but it is well known, that men have been always more cruel and ravenous than the beasts themselves, and make the most tyrannical use of that dominion they pretend to. If any thing gives us advantage over these animals, it is certainly our reason; but professed hunters, for the most part, have their heads furnished with nothing but horses, dogs, boars, stags, and the like. They are sometimes as wild and savage themselves as the beasts they pursue; and it may well be feared lest they should become as inhuman to their fellow-creatures as they are to their fellow-animals, or at least that the cruel custom of persecuting and destroying these, may take away their sympathy for the misfortunes of the others. And is this so noble an occupation, so worthy of a thinking being? It may be objected that hunting is an healthful exercise, and that those who are given to it live to a great age, as appears by experience; that it is a harmless amusement, and very proper for sovereigns, as it displays their magnificence, dissipates their cares, and in times of peace presents them with an image of war. I would be far from condemning a moderate use of this exercise, but let it be remembered, that exercise in general is hardly necessary to any but the intemperate. Never prince lived longer than cardinal Fleury, cardinal Ximenes, or the late pope, and yet neither of the three was a hunter. But is it necessary to chuse an employment which has no other merit but that of promising long

then on foot, which made him expose himself much in the conference at Hamp-

life? Monks commonly live longer than other men; must a man therefore become a monk? there is no need of leading an indolent and useless life, as long as that of Methusalem: the more a man improves his understanding, and the more great and useful actions he performs, the longer he lives. Hunting, besides, is of all amusements that which is least proper for a prince: he may display his magnificence a thousand ways, that are all more useful to his subjects: and if it should be found, that the peasants were ruined by the too great number of wild beasts, the care of destroying these might be committed to professed hunters hired for that purpose. The proper employment of a prince is that of improving his own mind, and governing his people, in order to acquire more knowledge, and consequently be able to accommodate his government to their interest. It must not be omitted, that to be a great general, there is no need of being a hunter. Gustavus Adolphus, marshal Turenne, the duke of Marlborough, and prince Eugene, whose characters as able generals and illustrious men, will not be questioned, were not hunters; nor do we read of the huntings of Alexander, Cæsar, or Scipio.——I conclude therefore, that it is excusable in a prince to go a hunting, if it is but seldom, and to refresh him after his serious and often melancholy employments. I say once more, I object to no honest pleasure; but the care of rendering a state flourishing and happy, and of protecting and encouraging arts and sciences, is unquestionably a much superior pleasure, and much fitter employment for a prince; and whoever betakes himself to

ton-Court [37], between the episcopalians and

any other, neither consults his pleasure nor his interest [a]."

[37] Which made him expose himself much in the conference at Hampton-Court, &c.] This conference was begun Jan. 14, 1603, in pursuance of a proclamation for that purpose, dated Oct. 24, of the same year. The professed design of it was to examine into the objections of the puritans, against the doctrine, government and discipline of the established church, and rectify abuses crept into it. But the king had little of this at heart; his design was to shew his learning, and mortify the puritans, which he did as well as he could. He talked therefore of the name and use of confirmation, and the occasion of its being first brought in; of absolution, private baptism, and excommunication; points well worthy the study of a king, and coming with great propriety from his mouth. "Absolution, he declared, was apostolical, and a very good ordinance, in that it was given in the name of Christ to one that desired it, and upon the clearing of his conscience [b]." He maintained "the necessity of baptism, where it might be lawfully had, *id est*, ministered by lawful ministers, by whom alone, and by no private person, he thought it might not in any case be administered. After which he learnedly observed, that though the minister be not of the essence of the sacrament [of baptism] yet he is of the essence of the right and lawful ministry of the sacrament [c]." These discourses passed between the king and bishops alone on

[a] Anti-Machiavel, p. 155—164. 8vo. Lond. 1741. [b] Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton-Court, in vol. I. of the Phenix, p. 145. 8vo. Lond. 1707. [c] Id. p. 147.

the puritans, where he set up for a dispu-

the first day, greatly, I dare say, to their rejoicing. On the second day, the ministers who were to propose the demands of the puritans being called in, viz. Reynolds, Sparks, Knewstubbs, and Chadderton, together with Patrick Galloway, sometime minister of Perth in Scotland; and their objections being all reduced into four heads, the king took on him to dispute the matters contained in them, with the ministers. It would be endless to relate all he said, for he loved speaking, and was in his element whilst disputing. Two or three instances of his ostentatious pedantry shall therefore suffice. "His majesty taxed St. Jerom for his assertion, that a bishop was not *divinæ ordinationis;* which opinion he much distasted, approving their calling and use in the church, and closed it up with this short aphorism, no bishop, no king[a]."

"Dr. Reynolds having made it an objection against the Apocrypha (ordered by the Common Prayer to be read) that the author of the book of Ecclesiasticus, chap. xlviii. 10. held the same opinion with the Jews at this day, namely, that Elias in person was to come before Christ; and therefore as yet Christ, by that reason, not come in the flesh: I say Dr. Reynolds having made this objection, his majesty calling for a bible, first shewed the author of that book; who he was, then the cause why he wrote that book; next analized the chapter itself, shewing the precedents and consequences thereof; lastly, unfolded the sum of that place, arguing and demonstrating that whatsoever Ben Sirach had said there of Elias, Elias had, in his

[a] Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton-Court, in vol. I. of the Phenix, p. 153. 8vo. Lond. 1707.

tant, and behaved with a great and visible

own person while he lived, performed and accomplished[a]." He moreover declared, "that he had never seen a bible well translated into English; that the translation of Geneva was the worst of all; that pains should be taken about an uniform translation of it, under certain restrictions, and more especially that no marginal notes should be added, having found, said he, in them which are annexed to the Geneva translation, some notes very partial, untrue, seditious, and savouring too much of dangerous and traiterous conceits[b]." Thus James shewed his learning in the midst of the lords of the council, and the bishops and deans who attended. I doubt not, though Reynolds was awed by the presence, and made not the figure he was capable of, that he heartily despised the prince who could talk after this rate, and dictate in matters out of his province.———Let us now see how his majesty endeavoured to mortify the puritans.

After expounding the chapter of Ecclesiasticus just mentioned, he addressed himself to the lords, and said, "what trow ye, make these men so angry with Ecclesiasticus? by my soul I think he was a bishop, or else they would never use him so[c]."——In answer to a question started how far an ordinance of the church was to bind, without impeaching Christian liberty? James said, "he would not argue that point, but answer therein as kings are wont to do in parliament, *le roy s'avisera;* adding withal, that it smelled very rankly of anabaptism, comparing it to the usage of a

[a] Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton-Court, in vol. I. of the Phenix, p. 162, 163. 8vo. Lond. 1707. [b] Id. p. 157. [c] Id. p. 163.

partiality. Indeed, his conduct in this

beardless boy (one Mr. John Black) who the last conference his majesty had with the ministers of Scotland, in Dec. 1602, told him, that he would hold conformity with his majesty's ordinances for matters of doctrine; but for matters of ceremony, they were to be left in Christian liberty to every man, as he received more and more light from the illumination of God's spirit, even till they go mad, quoth the king, with their own light. But I will none of that, I will have one doctrine, and one discipline, one religion in substance and in ceremony; and therefore I charge you never to speak more to that point (how far you are bound to obey) when the church hath ordained it[a]." Afterwards speaking to the lords and bishops, he said, "I will tell you, I have lived among this sort of men ever since I was ten years old; but I may say of myself, as Christ said of himself, though I lived among them, yet, since I had ability to judge, I was never of them[b]."—Thinking by somewhat Dr. Reynolds said, that the puritans aimed at a Scotch presbytery, the king observed, "that it agreed with a monarchy, as God and the devil. Then Jack and Tom, and Will and Dick shall meet, added he, and at their pleasure censure me and my council, and all our proceedings. Then Will shall stand up and say, it must be thus; then Dick shall reply, and say, nay, marry, but we will have it thus[c]." Afterwards asking if they had any thing further to object? and being answered no, he said, "if this was all, he would make them con-

[a] Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton-Court, in vol. I. of the Phenix, p. 166. 8vo. Lond. 1707. [b] Compare this with the notes 12 and 18. [c] Id. p. 169.

affair was such, as has been severely cen-

form, or would hurry them out of the land, or else do worse[a]."——This was the behaviour of James in this celebrated conference; a behaviour contemptible and ridiculous, and such as must expose him to standers-by.———What then must we think of archbishop Whitgift, who said "that undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit?" What of bishop Bancroft, who on his knee protested "that his heart melted with joy, and made haste to acknowledge unto almighty God, the singular mercy in giving them such a king, as, since Christ's time, the like had not been[b]." Or what of the temporal lords, who could applaud his majesty's speeches as "proceeding from the spirit of God, and from an understanding heart[c]." May we not say, that they knew well how to dissemble, and to maintain the character of good courtiers better than of honest men?——— Barlow thought he had done a great piece of service to James, by publishing this conference; but a worse office, in reality, could not have been done him. Posterity, by his account, see James's pedantry; and to see it, is to despise it. The puritans, therefore, needed not to have complained so much as they have done of Barlow[d]. If he has not represented their arguments in as just a light, nor related what was done by the ministers as advantageously as truth required, he has abundantly made it up to them by shewing, that the bishops, their adversaries, were gross flatterers, and had no regard to their sacred characters; and

[a] Barlow's Account of the Conference at Hampton-Court, in vol. I. of the Phenix, p. 170. 8vo. Lond. 1707. [b] Id. p. 174. [c] Id. p. 170.
[d] See Fuller's Church Hist. book 10. cent. 17. p. 21. Lond. 1655. folio.

sured on almost all hands [38], as it well de-

that their mortal foe James had but a low understanding, and was undeserving of the rank he assumed in the republic of learning. This he has done effectually, and therefore, whatever was his intention, the puritans should have applauded his performance, and appealed to it for proof of the insufficiency of him who set himself up as a decider of their controversies.

[38] His conduct was such, as has been severely censured, &c.] I say nothing of the puritans; they were too much parties to be looked on as impartial judges; and James's conduct towards them was such, as must necessarily give them but a poor opinion of his understanding and justice. Nor will I give the opinion of Barlow or Heylin: the first had his court to make, the other was a bigot in the greatest degree a man of sense (for such he was) could be; and therefore the judgment of neither of them is much to be regarded. I will give the sentiments of a clergyman, zealous enough for the church; and a statesman, who cannot be thought partial to the puritans, when 'tis known that he most zealously promoted the occasional conformity, and schism bills. "Had there not been too stiff an adherence (says the reverend writer) to some few things at this conference at Hampton-Court, which, without danger, might have been altered, had not the bishops then had such an ascendant throughout the whole conference over the king, which he was well pleased withal, having by the contrary party in Scotland been so roughly handled all his time; I say, certainly that conference had terminated in a great advantage to the church of England; for the puritan party was not so numerous, nor consequently so strong as afterwards; nor yet their dis-

served. In the year 1605, on the fifth day of Nov. was that most detestable conspi-

affections so great as they have been since, a very little and easy condescension had spoiled the market of the designing men, both gentry and ministers too[a]."—— "Learning, says the other writer, was the part upon which James valued himself; this he affected more than became a king, and broached, on every occasion, in such a manner as would have misbecome a schoolmaster. His pedantry was too much even for the age in which he lived. It would be tedious to quote the part he took in the conference at Hampton-Court.—— Let us only observe that the ridicule which arose from hence, and which fixed on him was just, because the merit of a chief governor is wisely to superintend the whole, and not to shine in any inferior class, because different, and in some cases perhaps, opposite talents, both natural and acquired, are necessary to move, and to regulate the movements of the machine of government; in short, because as a good adjutant may make a very bad general; so a great reader, and a writer too, may be a very ignorant king[b]." And in another place, the same fine writer observes, "that in haste to shew his parts, he had a conference between the bishops and the puritan ministers at Hampton-Court, where he made himself a principal party in the dispute.—— But surely such a conference, however it might frighten and silence, could neither instruct nor persuade, and the king was so far from trusting, like his predecessor, to the force of truth, and aid of time, that in this very conference he threatened to employ another kind of

[a] A Vindication of their Majesties Wisdom in the nomination to the vacant bishopricks, p. 7. 4to. Lond. 1691. [b] Oldcastle's Remarks, p. 237.

many, yet cannot, I think, reasonably be[39]

love flourish and prevail among all those who profess the religion of the meek and holy Jesus.

[39] The powder-plot——cannot, I think, reasonably be doubted of.] The history of this is so well known, that 'tis needless to relate it in this place. I will only observe, that the writers of the narratives of this affair, pay a compliment to James's understanding at the expence of truth; for it was not he that guessed from the expression in the letter to lord Monteagle, "that they should receive a terrible blow this parliament, and yet they should not see who hurts them." I say, it was not he who guessed that it should be some sudden danger by blowing up of powder, but the earl of Suffolk, lord chamberlain, and the earl of Salisbury, as the latter himself relates in a letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, dated Nov. 9, 1605[a]. However, the writers on this subject are excusable, having authority to rely on. For such was the flattery of James's courtiers, that they g t it inserted into the preamble of the act for a public thanksgiving to almighty God, every year on the fifth of November, that "the conspiracy would have turned to the utter ruin of this whole kingdom, had it not pleased almighty God, by inspiring the king's most excellent majesty with a divine spirit, to interpret some dark phrases of a letter shewed to his majesty, above and beyond all ordinary construction, thereby miraculously discovering this hidden treason." This appears to be gross flattery, and 'tis amazing how any man, who knew it to be such, could thus publicly receive it, much more the most great, learned, and religious king that ever reigned in this kingdom, as in the said preamble James is stiled. But the drawers of this

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 171.

doubted of. Every body knows, that in consequence of the discovery, several of the

act, I dare say, knew his taste, and were willing to gratify it, though thereby they exposed him to the laughter of those who were in the secret, as great numbers must have been. However, by the way, it ought never to be permitted to recite falshoods for truths in statutes; for these being enacted by the highest authority, the facts in them declared should be strictly true; otherwise whatever obedience may be yielded, the enactors will have little esteem or regard from the people, to whom the dealers in untruths seldom appear in an amiable light.———'Tis well known, that many of the papists then and now have denied the fact, and imputed the whole of the affair to the artifice of Salisbury; and we are told, that others of opposite principles have confidently asserted, "that there never was any such thing really as the gunpowder plot, but that it was a plot of king James's contriving, to endear himself unto the people[a]." But whether this is not all idle talk will appear, if we consider a few confessions of Roman catholics themselves. That worthy good-natured man, Dr. Tillotson, speaking of this horrid affair, says, "Sir Everard Digby, whose very original papers and letters are now in my hands, after he was in prison, and knew he must suffer, calls it the best cause; and was extremely troubled to hear it censured by catholics and priests, contrary to his expectation, for a great sin. Let me tell you (says he) what a grief it is, to hear that so much condemned which I did believe would have been otherwise thought of by catholics. And yet he concludes that letter in

[a] Casaubon of Credulity and Incredulity, vol. I. p. 202. 8vo. Lond. 1668.

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[a] Casaubon of Credulity and Incredulity, vol. I. p. 202. 8vo. Lond. 1668.

chief conspirators were executed, and an annual thanksgiving ordained. And in

these words: in how full of joy should I die, if I could do any thing for the cause which I love more than my life. And in another letter he says, he could have said something to have mitigated the odium of this business, as to that point of involving those of his own religion in the common ruin. I dare not, says he, take that course that I could, to make it appear less odious; for divers were to have been brought out of danger, who now would rather hurt them than otherwise. I do not think that there would have been three worth the saving, that should have been lost. And as to the rest that were to have been swallowed up in that destruction, he seems not to have the least relenting in his mind about them[a]." Dr. Burnet tells us, he had the same papers in his possession, and gives the like account from them[b].——But to put the matter beyond all dispute, I will give part of a speech of lord Stafford at the bar of the house of lords, Dec. 1, 1680. which, as far as I know, has never been quoted by any writer. Every body almost knows that this unfortunate nobleman was strongly attached to the Romish religion; and that upon the evidence of those times he was convicted and executed for the popish plot. It may well enough therefore be supposed, that he would not blacken his own side on this occasion, or endeavour to render his prosecutors more apprehensive of the enterprizing spirit of the catholics, than the truth compelled him to do. His evidence therefore being unexceptionable, let us attend unto it. "My lords,

[a] Tillotson's Sermon before the House of Commons, Nov. 5, 1678.

[b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 10.

order the better to secure the obedience of the catholics, the oath of allegiance*, by au-

said he, I have heard very much of a thing that was named by these gentlemen of the house of commons, and that very properly too, to wit, of the gunpowder treason. My lords, I was not born then, but some years after heard very much discourse of it, and very various reports; and I made a particular enquiry, perhaps more than any one person did else, both of my father, who was alive then, and my uncle, and others; and I am satisfied, and do clearly believe, by the evidence I have received, that that thing called the gunpowder treason, was a wicked and horrid design (among the rest) of some of the Jesuits, and I think the malice of the Jesuits, or the wit of man, cannot offer an excuse for it, it was so execrable a thing. Besides, my lords, I was acquainted with one of them that was concerned in it, who had his pardon, and lived many years after: I discoursed with him about it, and he confessed it, and said, he was sorry for it then; and I here declare to your lordships, that I never heard any one of the church of Rome speak a good word of it: it was so horrid a thing it cannot be expressed nor excused. And God almighty shewed his judgments upon them for their wickedness; for hardly any of the persons or their posterity are left that were concerned in it; and even a very great family too [Peircy, earl of Northumberland, I suppose] that had collaterally something to do in it, is in the male line extinct totally; and I do think God almighty always shews his judgments upon such vile actions[a]." What will any one say to this? needs

* Stat. anno tertio Jacobi regis, c. 4. sect. 15.

[a] Lord Stafford's Trial, p. 53. Lond. 1680-1. fol.

thority of parliament, was enacted, whereby the power of the pope to depose the king,

there any further witnesses when a popish lord declares the thing to be fact, and that he himself was acquainted with one concerned in it, who confessed it? must not those be past conviction who will still dispute it, or obstinately deny it? I will add, that it appears from Dr. Birch's view of the negotiations between England, France, and Brussels, that many catholics abroad were acquainted with it, and that the English regiment in the arch-duke's service, was designed to be transported upon the execution of it[a]. Indeed, says Sir Thomas Edmonds, ambassador with the archduke, in a letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, dated Dec. 27, 1605, O. S. "It was long ere I could persuade them here to believe the truth of the said conspiracy, because the catholiques were interested therein; but sometimes they would have it to be an artifice of the puritans against those sanctified persons, and then a design of the Hollanders (which are enemies to monarchy) to have reduced our estate to the same condition as theirs is of a commonwealth. But now lastly, when they see they can no longer dispute the doubtfulness and incertaintie thereof, they report to this consideration, that it is a work of the devil's expressly to banish and extirpate the catholique religion out of England. For my own part, adds he, I will freely confess, that I do effectually desire (whatsoever judgment they make thereof) that we make that use of it, as we have just cause so to do[b]." These things considered, I believe the reader will think with Dr. Birch, "that the papists of later times afford an instance of amazing scepticism, and equal assurance,

[a] See Birch's Negotiations, p. 235, 236. [b] Winwood, vol. II. p. 183.

or dispose of any of his majesty's dominions, was to be disowned, and true faith and al-

who affect, without the least shadow of probability, to represent so complicated and deep laid a conspiracy, as a meer ministerial and political contrivance, formed by the earl of Salisbury, for the disgrace and ruin of the Roman catholic religion in England[a]." However, though their scepticism and assurance are thus amazing, yet it is not to be wondered at, that they are unwilling to avow a fact, which admitted, must cast the greatest odium on a church whose ministers not only counselled it, but were actors in it; and though by the judgment of their country pronounced conspirators and traitors, and as such treated; yet have been deemed by her infallible self, saints and martyrs, and reckoned among their miracle workers[b]. A proof this, that zeal for

[a] Negotiations, p. 255. In the Calendarium Catholicum, for the year 1686, among the memorable observations is the following.

Since the horrid powder-plot, suspected to be politickly contrived by Cecil, but known to be acted by a few desperadoes of a religion that detests such treasons, though ambition and discontent made them traytors. } years 0081

Consult bishop Barlow's Genuine Remains, p. 388. Lond. 1693. 8vo. where is a censure of a passage of a like nature in the Calendarium Catholicum, or Universal Almanack for the year 1662, which the bishop says, was writ by a man of some parts and quality.

[b] See Osborn, p. 485. Fuller's Church Hist. cent. 17. book 10. p. 40, and Winwood, vol. ii. p. 300. Monsieur S. Amour tells us, that among the several portraits of Jesuits, publickly sold at Rome with permission of the superiour, he saw one of Garnet, with this inscription, *Pater Henricus Garnettus Anglus, Londini pro fide catholicâ suspensus & sectus, 3 Maii* 1606. Father Henry Garnet hanged and quartered at London, for the catholic faith; by which we see that treason and catholic faith are all one at Rome; for nothing can be more notorious, than that Garnet suffered only on the account of the gunpowder treason, of which, as M. S. Amour observes, he acknowledged himself guilty before he died. Stillingfleet's Idolatry of the Church of Rome, p. 345. 8vo. Lond. 1676.

legiance to him promised, notwithstanding any excommunication or deprivation made by the pope. This oath the catholics, for the most part, complied with, as thinking it lawful, and among the rest the arch-priest Blackwell. At this the pope was alarmed, and on the 10th of the calends of October 1606, issued out a brief, forbidding the taking the oath; but the catholics apprehending it a forgery, paid little regard to it, whereupon the next year his holiness sent them another[40], in which he plainly told

mother church will sanctify the greatest villanies, and raise men to the highest honours, though ever so unworthy. May all men have in abhorrence this spirit! may they guard against all attempts to revive it, and look upon it as their greatest happiness, that they are not under the rule of those who are actuated by it.

[40] His holiness sent them another brief, &c.] In his first brief the pope [Paul V.] tells the English catholics, "that the oath of allegiance could not be taken without hurting the catholic faith, and the salvation of their souls, seeing it contains many things flat contrary to faith and salvation; and therefore he admonishes them utterly to abstain from taking this and the like oaths[a]." Mr. Rapin therefore should have said, that the pope in this first brief, plainly told the

[a] King James's Works, p. 251.

them, that they were bound fully to observe the things contained in the former, and to reject all interpretations persuading to the contrary. Bellarmine also writ a letter to

catholics, "if they took the oath they forfeited all hopes of salvation[a]:" I say, he should have said this of the first, and not the second brief, as he has done; though forfeiting all hopes of salvation, is very different, in my opinion, from hurting the salvation of their souls, which are the words of the brief.——But his holiness's commands were not obeyed. The catholics pretended that "his brief was issued not of his own proper will, but rather for the respect and instigation of other men." This he assures them was false in his second brief, dated the 10th of the calends of Sept. 1607, and lets them know "that his former letters concerning the prohibition of the oath, were written not only upon his own proper motion, and of his certain knowledge, but also after long and weighty deliberation used concerning all those things which were contained in them; and that for that cause they were bound fully to observe them, rejecting all interpretation persuading to the contrary[b]." Strange sort of mortals these popes! who pretending to be vicars of Jesus Christ, who owned his kingdom was not of this world, intrude into the affairs of foreign nations, and prescribe laws to the subjects of them. This Paul V. was possessed of the true spirit of Hildebrand. He laid the Venetians under an interdict, raised Ignatius Loyola to be a saint, and talked and acted in such a manner, as if he had indeed thought himself superior to all that "is called God, or is worshipped." And had he happened to have

[a] Rapin, vol. II. p. 174. [b] King James's Works, p. 258.

Blackwell, against the oath, and exhorted him to repair the fault he had committed, by taking of it, even though [41] death should be the consequence. Hereupon James drew

lived in those ages when the spirit of croisading for the sake of what was called religion, prevailed, I doubt not but he would have made as vile work as the worst, and most enterprising of his predecessors. But the times in which he lived permitted him not to act agreeably to his wishes. Princes had more wisdom than to become his dupes, and excommunications were of little significancy, for learning and good sense now began to prevail, and where these are, ecclesiastical authority will be little regarded. However, this pope, we see, talked big; his briefs have an air of authority, and he did what in him lay to dispose the English catholics to behave contrary to their own interest and the laws of their country, and consequently to keep up a party dependant on himself, and subservient to his will, a thing of the worst consequence, and therefore loudly complained of by James, as we shall soon see.

[41] Bellarmine also writ a letter to Blackwell against the oath, &c.] This letter begins with remembering Blackwell of the long friendship that had been between them; expresses his grief for Blackwell's sufferings; but more especially for his having, as it was feared, taken the oath, which he says tends to this end, that the authority of the head of the church in England may be transferred from the successor of St. Peter to the successor of king Henry VIII. He declares that for this one head of doctrine, Fisher and More led the way to martyrdom to many others, to the exceeding glory of the English nation. And then he concludes with desiring him " not to prefer a temporal liberty to

his pen, and published his apology for the

the liberty of the glory of the sons of God: neither for escaping a light and momentary tribulation, lose an eternal weight of glory, which tribulation itself doth work in you. You have fought a good fight a long time; you have well near finished your course; so many years have you kept the faith; do not therefore lose the reward of such labours; do not deprive yourself of that crown of righteousness, which so long ago is prepared for you; do not make the faces of so many yours both brethren and children, ashamed; upon you at this time are fixed the eyes of all the church; yea also you are made a spectacle to the world, to angels, to men; do not so carry yourself in this your last act, that you leave nothing but laments to your friends, and joy to your enemies: but rather on the contrary, which we assuredly hope, and for which we continually pour forth prayers to God, display gloriously the banner of faith, and make to rejoice the church, which you have made heavy; so shall you not only merit pardon at God's hands, but a crown. Farewel; quit you like a man, and let your heart be strengthened. This letter is dated from Rome, Sept. 28, 1607[a]." Bellarmine mistook the sense of the oath about which he writes, as we shall see by James's answer. But not to insist on this, for the present, I would ask whether there is not something very odd in this persuading men to undergo martyrdom, when we ourselves are in ease, and like to continue so? does it come with a good grace from the mouth of a rich cardinal, who had aspired to the papacy, and even now enjoyed the greatest plenty of all things. When we see men under sufferings, triumph and rejoice in them, and contentedly

[a] King James's Works, p. 261.

oath of allegiance, against the two briefs of

bear them themselves, and exhort others to do so likewise, their exhortations will have great force and efficacy; their propriety is seen and acknowledged, and all virtuous men are edified. But to persuade others to submit to what we ourselves are strangers to, and which probably we should shrink at the undergoing, is not quite so well in the eyes of the world. But Bellarmine was at a distance; Blackwell's reproaches could not have made him blush; and so the authority of the pope was maintained, it mattered not who suffered. Modest man! good friend! happy for him to whom he writ, that he knew what was right, and for his own interest, or else probably tribulation would have been his portion.——One would be apt to wonder how it comes to pass, that those men who were so forward to send others on dangerous expeditions, to promote the interest of the church, and make men proselytes among infidels and heretics, and encourage them so much with the prospects of the highest rewards hereafter: I say one would be apt to wonder why hardly any of these persons ever set out on these expeditions themselves, and strive to obtain those glorious crowns they set before the eyes of others. We see they chuse themselves that part of the vineyard where is the richest soil, and the least work to be done. In this they take their ease, and enjoy themselves comfortably, and never change unless it be for the better. What are we to conclude from hence? do not they believe what they teach to others? are they disposed to procure their own advantage by the sweat, labour, and blood of the honest, the simple, the credulous? the unbelieving race would say so; and those who belong not to that tribe of men, would yet be glad to know how, on this head, to confute them.

pope Paulus Quintus[42], and the letter of car-

[42] James published his apology for the oath of allegiance against the two briefs, &c.] Take the following account of the occasion of this apology from bishop Mountague, James's prefacer. "After the pope had put forth his briefs, and the cardinal had sent his letters to the arch-priest; the one to enjoin the people not to take the oath of allegiance, affirming that they could not take it with safety of their salvation: the other to reprove the arch-priest for that he had taken it, and to draw him to a penitency for so foul a lapse. His majesty, like as become a prudent and religious prince, thought it not meet, that these things should pass for current, but that it was expedient his people should know, that the taking this oath was so far from endangering their souls, as that it intended nothing but civil obedience, and without touching any point of their conscience, made the state secure of their allegiance. To perform this work, his majesty thought the bishop of Winchester[a] [Dr. Bilson, if I rightly remember] that then was, a very fit man, both for his singular learning, as for that he had long laboured in an argument, not much of a diverse nature from this; whereupon his majesty calling for pen and ink, to give

[a] This Bishop was Dr. T. Bilson, who was advanced to that see in 1597, and died in 1616. The book of his referred to by bishop Montague, was probably that printed at Oxford 1585, in 4to. and intitled, 'The true difference betweene christian subjection and antichristian rebellion; wherein the princes lawfull power and command for trueth, and indepriveable right to beare the sword are defended against the pope's censures, and the jesuits sophismes uttered in their apologie and defence of English catholikes with a demonstration, that the things refourmed in the church of England by the lawes of this realme are truly catholike, notwithstanding the vaine shew made to the contrary in their late Rhemish Testament, by Thomas Bilson, warden of Winchester. Perused and allowed by publike authoritie.'

dinal Bellarmine to G. Blackwell the arch-

my lord of Winchester directions how and in what manner to proceed in this argument, I know not how it came to pass, but it fell out true that the poet saith,

"——————— Amphora cœpit
Institui: currente rota post urceus exit,

"for the king's pen ran so fast, that in the compass of six days, his majesty had accomplished that which he now calleth his apology; which when my lord of Canterbury [Bancroft] that then was, and my lord of Ely [Andrews] had perused, being indeed delivered by his majesty but as brief notes, and in the nature of a minute to be explicated by the bishops in a larger volume; yet they thought it so sufficient an answer both to the pope and cardinal, as there needed no other. Whereupon his majesty was persuaded to give way to the coming of it forth, but was pleased to conceal his name; and so have we the apology beyond his majesty's own purpose or determination[a]." The reader is welcome to believe as much or as little of all this as he pleases. For my own part, I doubt not, but James was well enough pleased to engage in a controversy in which he was almost sure of success. For the pope, with all his infallibility, had urged nothing material against the oath of allegiance, and the cardinal had quite mistook the sense of it; as every one upon comparing the briefs of the one, and the letter of the other with the oath, will plainly see, as James in this piece has fully shewn. Indeed all objections of the latter are pointed against the oath of supremacy, which is a very different thing from the oath of allegiance. In

[a] Preface to King James's Works.

priest. Though James had not set his name to this piece, no one doubted but he was the

this piece James, after mentioning the powder plot, takes notice of the intention of the oath, which he says, "was specially to make a separation between so many of his subjects, who although popishly affected, yet retained in their hearts the prints of their natural duty to their sovereign; and those who being carried away with the like fanatical zeal that the powder-traytors were, could not contain themselves within the bounds of their natural allegiance, but thought diversity of religion a safe pretext for all kinds of treasons and rebellions against their sovereign[a]." He then mentions the good effects the oath had produced; the mischiefs of the pope's briefs; the incivility of the pope in condemning him unheard; and after that proceeds to a formal examination of them. In this part of his work he sets forth his great favour to the catholics, in admitting them to his presence, dubbing many of them knights, freeing recusants from their ordinary payments, and bestowing favours and honours equally on them with the protestants. He then formally enters into the discussion of the pope's briefs, and by scripture, fathers, and councils, attempts to confute them. He proceeds to attack Bellarmine; and shews that he had mistook the oath of supremacy for the oath of allegiance, and on this mistake had proceeded in his letter to Blackwell. He asserts the oath of allegiance to be confirmed by the authority of ancient councils: shews that no decision of any point of religion is contained in it; that Bellarmine had contradicted

[a] King James's Works, p. 243.

author of it. It remained not long without replies[43], containing such things as highly

his former writings; and that his authorities from the fathers were insufficient. This is the substance of this apology, in which, though there is nothing in it of great merit, we may justly say James came off conqueror. However, we may remark, that though his favours to the catholics might manifest them guilty of ingratitude towards him, yet could they be no great recommendation of him to his protestant subjects. They shewed an indifferency with respect to the two religions, which, I suppose, was not so well digested by them. But James was not one of those who foresaw consequences. What made for his present purpose he catched hold of, without reflecting that one day or other it might be made to serve against himself. An imprudence which controvertists frequently are guilty of. The least shadow of an argument they make use of; weaken, or endeavour to invalidate the most important doctrines which at any time stand in their way; and blab out those things which it is most their interest to conceal, and which hereafter they bitterly repent of, when they find the uses made of them by able or artful opponents.

[43] It remained not long without replies, containing such things as highly displeased him.] Though James's name was not prefixed to the first edition of his apology, yet he made presents of it to the foreign ambassadors in his own name, and his arms were put in the frontispiece thereof, as himself tells us[a]. This was sufficient to put the author out of doubt. But notwithstanding his adversaries treated him without ceremony.

[a] Works, p. 290.

displeased him. Whereupon he writ his

The famous Robert Parsons began the attack, in a book called the Judgment of a Catholic gentleman, concerning king James's apology for the oath of allegiance. Qu. S. Omers, 1608[a].——Bellarmine continued it, under the feigned name of Mattheus Tortus, and gave his majesty the lie in express terms, and seven times charged him with falsehood, which was thought by him equivalent to a lie[b]. The king is here told, that pope Clement thought him to be inclined to their religion; that he was a puritan in Scotland, and a persecutor of the protestants; that he was a heretic and no christian. His majesty was also let know, "that some of his officers of estate put the pope and cardinals in hope that he would profess himself a catholic, when he came to the crown of England; yea, that he himself had written letters full of courtesie to the two cardinals Aldo-brandino and Bellarmine, wherein he craved, that one of the Scottish nation might be created cardinal; that by him, as an agent, he might the more easily and safely do his business with the pope[c]."—— This must have vexed James pretty much, I suppose, as the reader, by comparing what is contained in notes 8 and 13, will be apt to think there was some truth in it. A third answerer of this apology was Francis Suarez, well known in the learned world. Sir Henry Saville, whose edition of St. Chrysostom has perpetuated his fame, being prevailed on, I know not by what motive, to help translate James's book into Latin; it soon got to Rome; from thence Suarez was com-

[a] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. I. c. 362. [b] King James's Works, p. 294. [c] Calderwood, p. 600. See the letter itself in the same writer, p. 427. It is addressed to the pope; but there are instructions afterwards added, for applying to the cardinals. See also Rushworth, vol. I. p. 162.

premonition [44] to all most mighty monarchs,

manded to answer it, who performing his task, it was published, and as soon as the copies came into England, one of them was burnt [a].———Nicolaus Cœffeteau, bishop of Dardanie, preacher to Henry IV. of France, answered James, as he said, very moderately and modestly. "But the king was nothing pleased with his fawning, nor took it in better part than if (as he said) he should have bid a t—d in his teeth, and then cry Sir reverence [b]." Let us observe here by the way, a mistake of Mr. Perrault, in speaking of Cœffeteau, says he, "the king (Henry the Great) committed to him, at the solicitation of Perron, the answering of the king of England's book on the eucharist, which he did with a great deal of cogency [c]." Now James never writ on the eucharist. The book Cœffeteau answered, was his apology; consequently Perrault is mistaken. Nor can I persuade myself he speaks truly, when he says, the then French king committed to him the answering James's book. The doctrine contained in it could not be displeasing to Henry, and I believe he would have been sorry it should have been subverted. I know of no more answers to James's apology; and whether I am as exact as I should be in my account of these, I cannot well determine; being far removed from libraries, from which help might be expected [d]."

[44] Whereupon he writ his premonition to all most mighty monarchs, &c.] "After the apology was out, says Dr. Mountague, his majesty divers times would be pleased to utter a resolution of his, that if the pope and cardinal would not rest in his answer, and sit down

[a] Wood, vol. I. c. 468. [b] Winwood, vol. III. p. 117. [c] Characters Historical and Panegyrical, vol. II. p. 11. 8vo. Lond. 1705. [d] Vid. Appendix.

kings, free princes, and states of Christen-

by it, take the oath as it was intended for a point of allegiance and civil obedience, he would publish the apology in his own name, with a preface to all the princes in Christendom; wherein he would publish such a confession of his faith, persuade the princes so to vindicate their own power, discover so much of the mystery of iniquity unto them, as the pope's bulls should pull in their horns, and himself wish he had never meddled with this matter. The cardinal contending against the apology, his majesty confirmed his resolution, and with the like celerity in the compass of one week, wrote his monitory preface; and being so written, published it and the apology in his own name, and made good his word, sent it to the emperor, and all the kings and free princes in Christendom [a]." Great dispatch this! but as we have a bishop's word for it, we cannot refuse to subscribe to the truth of it. In his dedication to the emperor Rodolph II. and the princes and states of Christendom, he stiles himself professor, maintainer, and defender of the true, christian, catholic, and apostolic faith, professed by the antient and primitive church, and sealed with the blood of so many holy bishops, and other faithful crowned with the glory of martyrdom [b].——He then in a particular manner addresses himself unto them, and tells them, "that the cause in which he is engaged is general, and concerneth the authority and privilege of kings in general, and all super-eminent temporal powers [c]." He proceeds to give reasons for printing the apology without his name; shews why he thought now proper to avow it, and goes on to shew the occasion of it. He

[a] Preface to James's Works. [b] James's Works, p. 238. [c] Id. p. 289.

dom, published it, and the apology in his

lets them know, that the publishing his book had brought such two answerers, or rather railers, upon him, as all the world might wonder at. He then falls foul on Parsons, for whom he says a rope is the fittest answer; and proceeds to Mattheus Tortus, who called himself Bellarmine's chaplain. "An obscure author, says he, utterly unknown to me, being yet little known to the world for any other of his works; and therefore must be a very desperate fellow in beginning his apprentisage, not only to refute, but to rail upon a king[a]." One would think by this James knew not that in the republic of letters no man holds any other rank than what he can procure by his own industry and abilities. For which reason if the greatest prince commences a member of it, he is to expect, in justice, no other regard than what his fellow-members shall judge he really merits. If he would not be treated like an author, he should not commence author. The moment he acts publicly in that character, he is liable to be refuted, ridiculed, or exposed; nor has he any body but himself to thank for it.——But let us go on with our subject. James, from some passages, concludes that Bellarmine was his real answerer, under the feigned name of Tortus, and as such he speaks of him. After mentioning the epithets bestowed on himself by his answerer, he asks the princes whether this be mannerly dealing with a king? and he doubts not but that they will resent such indignities done to one of their quality. He then shews the insufficiency of the cardinal's reply to his apology, aggravates the power he gives to the popes, shews that they formerly were in subjection

[a] James's Works, p. 293.

own name, and sent it to the emperor, and princes, to whom it was addressed. The

to christian emperors, and that their assent was necessary to their elections, and that they had been deposed by them. Kings also, he says, have denied the temporal superiority of the popes, more especially his own predecessors. Apostate he shews he is none, and heretic that he cannot be, as believing all the three creeds, and as "acknowledging for orthodox all those other forms of creeds, that either were devised by councils or particular fathers, against such particular heresies as most reigned in their times[a]." He then gives a long-winded confession of faith, with reasons, such as they are, of his belief; and afterwards spends no less than twenty folio pages on the subject of Antichrist, which he thus concludes, "Thus has the cardinals shameless wresting two of those places of scripture, *pasce oves meas, & tibi dabo claves*, for proving the pope's temporal authority over princes, animated me to prove the pope to be the antichrist out of the book of scripture; so to pay him his own money again. And this opinion no pope can ever make me to recant, except they first renounce any farther meddling with princes, in any thing belonging to their temporal jurisdiction[b]." Returning then to Bellarmine's reply, he complains loudly of the lies contained in it, and of the ill-manners wherewith it abounds; and after a great deal of heavy stuff about the powder-plot, oath of allegiance, the villany of Garnet, &c. he addresses himself to the kings and princes, and prays God that he and they may not suffer the incroaching Babylonian mo-

[a] Works, p. 302. [b] Id. p. 322.

prefacer of his majesty's works tells us of the great effects produced by this premoni-

narch to gain ground upon them. It is very remarkable, that in this answer to Bellarmine, contained in the premonition, James takes not the least notice of the account given by him of his having formerly written to the pope, and begged a cardinal's hat for one of his subjects, in order that through him he might be the more able to advance his affairs in the court of Rome. This, I say, is remarkable, and argues in James a conviction of the truth of what was alledged against him. Indeed, with no face could he pretend to deny it: for it was well known to his own and foreign ministers, that his ambassador at the French court had frequently solicited it, and thereby had reflected on his honour and judgment[a]; and that he himself had negotiated with the pope by means of cardinal Aldo-brandini, in order, as was thought, to his becoming catholic[b]. He had not the face therefore to deny, in a work addressed to foreigners, a fact which could so easily have been made good against him. However, in order to amuse his own subjects, he pretended the letter written to the pope, produced in this controversy was surreptitiously obtained by lord Balmerino; and accordingly that lord, following the direction in all things of lord Dunbar[c], after having confessed that he himself drew the letter without his majesty's knowledge or consent, and got him ignorantly to sign it, had sentence of death passed on him for this his action. No doubt of it, James thought hereby to have cleared himself in the eyes of his subjects of all cor-

[a] Winwood's Memorials, vol I. p. 358. [b] Birch's Negotiations, p. 38.
[c] See Calderwood, p. 604. and Spotswood, p. 507.

tion[45], but, if we deal impartially, we must

respondence with the pope. "But when Balmerino was presently pardoned, and, after a short confinement, restored to his liberty: all men, says Burnet, believed that the king knew of the letter, and that the pretended confession of the secretary was only collusion to lay the jealousies of the king's favouring popery, which still hung upon him, notwithstanding his writing on the Revelations, and his affecting to enter on all occasions into controversy, asserting in particular that the pope was antichrist[a]."——So that his artifice was of no avail, the covering was too thin; and all who had eyes must see that there was but too much truth in what had been said concerning him. Such are the effects of dissimulation! whereas honesty, integrity, and fair-dealing, appear openly and above-board, and always on examination are honourable to those by whom they are practised, and generally profitable.

[45] The prefacer to his majesty's works tells us of the great effects produced by this premonition.] He observes, "that upon the coming forth of that book, there were no states that disavowed the doctrine of it in the point of the king's power; and the Venetians maintained it in their writings, and put it in execution; the Sorbons maintained it likewise in France."

2dly, "That their own writers that opposed it, so overlashed, as they were corrected and castigated by men of their own religion."

3dly, "That his majesty's confession of faith had been so generally approved, as that it had converted many of their party; and that had it not been for the treatise of antichrist, he had been informed many more

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 6.

acknowledge that it met but with a very

would easily have been induced to subscribe to all in that preface."

4thly, "That kings and princes had by his majesty's premonition a more clear insight, and a more perfect discovery, into the injury offered to them by the pope in the point of their temporal power, than ever they had, insomuch as that point was never so thoroughly disputed in Christendom, as it had been by the occasion of his majesty's book."

Lastly, "That for the point of antichrist, he had heard many confess, that they never saw so much light given into it, as they had done by this performance." So that, adds he, "though controversies be fitter subjects for scholars ordinarily, than for kings, yet when there was such a necessity in undertaking, and such a success being performed, I leave it to the world to judge, whether there was not a special hand in it of God or no[a]."

And I will leave the world to judge of the gross flattery, not to say impiety, of this prelate in talking after this rate. What! must we attribute the squabbles of pedants to God? must his hand be concerned in ushering into the world the dull heavy performance of a king? far be such thoughts from us! when God acts, he acts like himself; all is wise, good and successful: nor can we more dishonour him than by calling him in as an encourager or assister of our whims and extravagancies. But this bishop had no sense of propriety; as long as he could praise he was satisfied, let it be in ever so wrong a place; by which his own character suffered, and his master was despised.

[a] Preface to James's Works.

indifferent reception abroad, especially from

It is pleasant enough, however, to see such effects attributed to this work of James's. The Venetians, upon the coming out of this book, maintained the doctrine of the supreme power of temporals in princes and free states. It is true they did; and they had done it before ever James had put pen to paper on this subject; for the quarrel with the pope, which produced the interdict, arose from thence: now this commenced Anno 1606, and James's Apology was not printed till the year 1609, and consequently neither it nor the premonition which came after it, could be the cause of their holding this doctrine[a]. As to the Sorbonne, ever since the extinction of the civil wars in France, they had taught it; nor could be expected any sovereign state would disavow it: so that whatever the bishop might say, it is certain nothing this way was produced. As for James's adversaries being opposed by men of their own religion, it is not to be wondered at. There are every where men who love controversy, and therefore that will oppose, if only for a shew of their parts and learning. How many were converted by his majesty's confession of faith I cannot say, I remember to have read but of one, the archbishop of Spalatro[b]; but I know very well that within a few years of this controversy, great numbers of the British protestant subjects revolted to the Romish communion, none of which, I believe, were induced to return by this performance.——If many were converted by it, why had they not been pointed out? we know Waddesworth,

[a] Father Paul's Life, by Lockman, prefixed to his treatise of ecclesiastical benefices, p. 48. 8vo. Lond. 1736. and Birch's Negotiations, p. 298.

[b] Frankland's Annals, p. 27.

most of the princes and states to whom it was addressed [46]; though there were not

chaplain to Sir Charles Cornwallis, ambassador in Spain, was reconciled to the church of Rome, and several of the said Sir Charles's kinsmen[a]: We know likewise that Toby Matthews (afterwards Sir Toby) son to the archbishop of York, went over to it likewise[b]; but their return is never mentioned, nor are there any conversions by means of his majesty's book, except that one I have spoke of, recorded, and which, if true, was of no consequence: for it is well known that Spalatro went off from the protestants, and came to a most unhappy end at Rome: so that the bishop has been very unhappy in his assertions with respect to the consequences of the premonition, and cannot but be put down as an inventor. As to the fourth and last things mentioned as following from this book, I have nothing to say to them: they are before the reader, and he may view them in what light he pleases.

[46] It met with but a very indifferent reception abroad, &c.] Let us hear a zealous hugonot: "This work [the apology and premonition prefixed] served for no more than to shew the little account the catholics made of the author. It was not looked upon in Spain; 'twas burnt in Florence; the inquisition at Rome put it in the number of prohibited books; 'twas ill received in France by the catholics, and the king forbad it should be translated or printed. 'Twas only at Venice where the reading of it was not prohibited[c]."

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 131, 136, 260, 295, 441.

[b] Cabala, p. 56. fol. Lond. 1663.

[c] History of the Edict of Nantes, vol. I. p. 451. 4to. Lond. 1694.

wanting those at home who applauded and defended it.

Arminius dying Oct. 19, 1609, Conrad Vorstius was invited to succeed him in his

There is some truth in this, though the account given is not very exact. Let us correct it as well as we can from Winwood's State Papers. Lord Salisbury, in a letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, dated June 8, 1609, tells him that "his majesty had thought fit to send his book to the Emperor, to the French king, who hath received it, and all other christian kings and princes, as a matter which jointly concerns their absolute jurisdiction and temporalities[a]." But though it was sent to all other christian kings and princes, it was not received by them. The arch-dukes would not accept of it[b]; and even the state of Venice, "after they had received the king's books, they did by public ordinance forbid the publishing of the same; which (says Sir Thomas Edmondes) Sir Henry Wooton took so tenderly, as thereupon he charged them with the breach of their amity with his majesty, and declared unto them that in respect thereof he could not longer exercise his charge of a public minister among them. This protestation of his was found so strange by that state, as they sent hither[c] in great diligence to understand whether his majesty would avow him therein, which did very much trouble them here to make a cleanly answer thereunto, for the salving the ambassador's credit, who is censured to have prosecuted the matter to an over great extremity[d]." This must have

[a] Winwood, vol. III. p. 51. [b] Id. p. 68. [c] This is written from London, Oct. 4. 1609. [d] Winwood, vol. III. p. 77, 78.

professor's chair of divinity at Leyden: after a year's deliberation he accepted of it. But James, in the mean time, having seen some of his writings, sent orders to his ambassa-

been a great mortification to James, had he had much sensibility of temper; but yet, even this was nothing to the slight which was put upon his piece by the Spaniards; for it was no sooner known in Spain that James was about to write against the pope, than the secretary of state sent word to Sir Charles Cornwallis, "that the king his master did much grieve at it, and marvelled that the king of Great Britain (the pope in no sort meddling with him) would put his own hand into such a business [a]." But though the ministers of state in England knew this, yet, when Sir Charles Cornwallis received his majesty's letter of revocation, "he also received a book of his majesty's, together with a letter to the king of Spain." But for fear of an indifferent reception, or rather a refusal of both the one and the other, he was ordered by Lord Salisbury, from the king, to "present the letter and the book to the king of Spain himself, as speedily and conveniently as might be, without giving any foreknowledge that he was to present any such matter; for which purpose, adds his lordship, the letter for your revocation may serve you for a good pretext of access [b]." They saw there was need of dexterity to get the book accepted; indeed they could not help it; for the Spanish ambassador at London had refused the book, when sent him by the lord treasurer [c]; and what he had done, it was to be feared, his master would do. And so it fell out;

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 486. [b] Id. vol. III. p. 51. [c] Id. vol. III. p. 55.

dor, Sir Ralph Winwood, in Holland, to represent the vileness of his doctrines, and desire that he might not be admitted to his

for just before Sir Charles had his last audience of the king of Spain, the duke of Lerma let him know plainly, that he was informed that he intended at his taking leave of his master, to present his Britannic majesty's book to him; that he was surprised that it could be imagined it would be received; and therefore gave him fair warning to forbear presenting the book, "whereby, said he, might be avoided a refusal that would be so unpleasing to the one to give, and so distasteful to the other to receive." Cornwallis replied to Lerma with zeal and understanding; but it was all in vain: he was told positively, "the king of Spain would never receive, much less give reading to any book containing matter derogatory to his religion and obedience to the see of Rome." This silenced him; he took his leave of the Spanish king, and was obliged to carry back the book with him[a]. What an affront this! how provoking to one so full of his own abilities as James! he thought, doubtless, that his fellow kings with attention would have read his works, applauded his talents, and magnified his art and dexterity in controversy. But he was mistaken, few foreigners spoke well of his writings, and we see with what contempt he was treated by some of those to whom his book was addressed. However his flatterers at home kept up his spirits. Most wise, most learned, most understanding were the epithets bestowed on him by the designing courtiers, and aspiring clergy. These he was so long

[a] Winwood, vol. III. p. 67, 68.

place. The states returning an answer not satisfactory, he renewed his application; and in order the more effectually to exclude

used to hear, that it is not improbable he might come at length to think he deserved them. It would be useless to take notice of the several writers of the English nation who appeared in defence of James against his adversaries. Their names may be seen in Fuller[a]; but for their works they are almost out of remembrance long ago, the reverends and right reverends, by cruel fate, were doomed to be

> Martyrs of pies, and reliques of the bum.
>
> DRYDEN.

But all writings are not formed to abide any considerable space of time: and well were it for the world, if the dread of oblivion would restrain the zealot, the pedant, the half-thinker from troubling its repose by their controversies.

I will only observe before I conclude this note, that Gaspar Scioppius, that man of great reading and much learning, who had parts superior to most, and severity and ill manners equal to his abilities, published two pieces against James's apology and premonition; the one entitled *Ecclesiasticus auctoritati serenissimi D. Jacobi Magnæ Britanniæ regis oppositus*, printed in 1611; and the other stiled *Collyrium regium Britanniæ regi graviter ex oculis laboranti muneri missum*, printed the same year. It may be supposed no great regard could be paid James by a writer of such a character; but it had been better for him to have used a little more de-

[a] Church History, cent. 17. book 10. p. 43.

Vorstius from the place to which he had been chosen, and also had accepted, he published a declaration [47] concerning the pro-

cency, for he had well near lost his life by the hands of some of the English ambassador's servants at Madrid, for his want of it [a]. The truth is, no men deserve punishment more than writers of Scioppius's temper. He railed, he reviled, he reproached, he uttered a thousand falsehoods against his adversaries, and stuck at nothing in order to defame. Men's reputations he valued not, nor cared he who was hurt by his calumnies. He deserved chastisement from the hand of the magistrate; and it would have been no more than justice to have treated him as a criminal. For there is a great deal of difference between refuting and defaming an adversary, between shewing the inconclusiveness of his reasonings, and inventing lies in order to blast his character; and I cannot help thinking that he who does the latter, ought to be looked on as a wretch who is a disgrace both to learning and humanity, and exposed to the punishment of calumniators.

[47] He published a declaration concerning the proceedings in the cause of Vorstius.] This declaration is "dedicated and consecrated to the honour of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, the eternal Son of the eternal Father, the only ΘΕΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ, mediator and reconciler of mankind, in sign of thankfulness, by his most humble, and most obliged servant, James, &c. [b]" If this dedication be thought extraordinary, the declaration itself will be judged more so; for he declares it

[a] See Bayle's Dict. article Scioppius, notes (σ) and (H).
[b] James's Works, p. 348.

ceedings with the States General of the United Provinces of the Low Countries in the cause of D. Conradus Vorstius, in which,

to be the duty of a christian king to extirpate heresies; professes that it is zeal for the glory of God which alone induces him to move for the banishment of Vorstius, whom he stiles a wretched heretic, or rather atheist, out of the State's dominions; and then goes on to give an account of what he had done in that affair. He gives us a copy of his first letter to Sir Ralph Winwood, in which he orders him to tell the States, that "there had lately come to his hands a piece of work of one Vorstius, a divine in those parts, wherein he had published such monstrous blasphemies, and horrible atheism, as he held not only the book worthy to be burnt, but even the author himself to be most severely punished;" and withal he commands him to "let them know how infinitely he shall be displeased if such a monster receive advancement in the church; and that if they continue their resolution to advance him, he will make known to the world in print how much he detested such abominable heresies, and all allowers and tolerators of them;" and that the states might not want proper information, he sent a catalogue of his damnable positions[a]."———But the states were not so furious as James; they had more knowledge, and consequently more discretion. All the answer he could get amounted to no more than a representation of the good character of Vorstius, his great abilities, the reasonableness of allowing him to defend himself against his adversaries, and an assurance that

[a] Works, p. 350.

among other things, he declares, that only for the title of one of his books, viz. *de filiatione Christi*, an author so suspected as

if upon examination he should be found guilty, he should not be admitted to the professor's place[a]. Before the receipt of this answer James was determined to shew his zeal, and manifest his indignation against the heretic. He ordered his books to be burnt in St. Paul's church-yard, and both the universities; by this means confuting them in the shortest manner. But he stopt not here; he renewed his instances to the states for the setting aside Vorstius, and again represented his execrable blasphemies, and assures them never any heretic better deserved to be burnt than he; and lest they should hearken to his denials of what was charged on him, he asks them, "what will not he deny, that denieth the eternity and omnipotency of God. He concludes with threatening them that if they should fail of that which he expected at their hands, and suffer such pestilent heretics to nestle among them, he should depart and separate himself from such false and heretical churches, and also exhort all other reformed churches to join with him in a common council, how to extinguish and remand to hell those abominable heretics[b]."—But notwithstanding these threatenings, Vorstius came to Leyden. This caused Winwood to present himself before the States, who in a set speech backed his master's letters, and gave in a catalogue of Vorstius's errors. But the States answered coldly, and nothing to James's expectation. Winwood therefore, according to his orders, protested against the States receiving Vorstius; and at length an answer was given

[a] Works, p. 352, 353. [b] Id. p. 356.

he, is worthy of the faggot; and that if he had been his own subject, he would have

by them more satisfactory to James. This pleased him, but still in his writings he went on to expose the professor, and entered into a very tedious and insipid reply to his apology for his writings.——This was the treatment which a man of piety, parts, and learning met with from James, upon account of some metaphysical reasonings on the nature and attributes of God, and an error which he held with some of the fathers, concerning the corporeity of deity[a]. I should not wonder to hear an inquisitor talk after the manner he did; it would only be in the way of his profession. But, I own, I can hardly tell how to bear such language from a professed protestant, and a temporal prince. And it excites my indignation to behold a man who made no scruple of breaking the laws of the gospel, and living in defiance of God himself, by acting counter to his commands: I say it fills me with indignation to hear such a one making a loud cry about heresy, and stirring up men to punish it. But thus it has been, thus, perhaps, it always will be. The greatest persecutors have been some of the most wicked and abandoned of men. Without a sense of God, or religion on their minds, they have pretended to be actuated by a great zeal for them; and covered with this pretence they have gone on, even with the applause of the superstitious and bigotted, to glut their ambition, their pride, their revenge.———James is said to have been excited to declare against Vorstius, by Abbot, archbishop of Canterbury[b]; and it is not unlikely.

[a] See Dupin's Hist. of Ecclesiastical Writers, vol. I. p. 92. fol. Lond. 1692. [b] Abridgment of Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation of the Low Countries, vol. I. p. 318. 8vo. Lond. 1725. and Winwood, vol. III. p. 296.

forced him to have confessed those wicked heresies that were rooted in his heart; and

Most of the ecclesiastics of that time abounded with a fiery zeal, which frequently hurried them into actions not to be justified. But had not James had an inclination to the work, Abbot would not have been able to have prevailed upon him to undertake it. He thought, doubtless, that he should acquire fresh honour by his pen; that his people would applaud his zeal, and hold in admiration his piety; and it is not to be doubted but many were imposed on by him. However Sir Ralph Winwood did not escape censure at home, for what he had done in this affair. He had protested, as I had just observed, against the States receiving of Vorstius; but he added also, that he protested against the violence offered unto the alliance between his majesty and those provinces, which, said he, "being founded upon the preservation and maintenance of the reformed religion, you have not letted (so much as in you lies) absolutely to violate in the proceeding of this cause[a]."——James, when he first heard of this, said, Winwood hath done *secundum cor meum:* but soon afterwards he changed his note, and said "the protest was made at an unreasonable time, when he was to receive kindness (namely reimbursement of money) at the States hands; and so calling for the copies of his letters, found that the ambassador had exceeded his commission, in protesting against the alliance which should have been but against the religion[b]." This it is to serve weak princes; they take up their resolutions without consideration, and are soon turned from them. To-day their servants are

[a] King James's Works, p. 363. [b] Winwood, vol. III. p. 319.

I doubt not but he would have been as good as his word; for soon after he caused

commended, to-morrow blamed for following their instructions. So that little reputation is to be got in their employment. Winwood received notice of this, "but the wiser part of the world (says his friend Mr. John More to him) considering the tenor of his majesty's sharp letter to the States, and how often, in open discourse, he hath threatened not only to write, but to fight against them, rather than Vorstius should rest at Leyden, will more readily conclude that his majesty varieth in himself, than that you have erred[a]." At length, however, Winwood had the pleasure of hearing that his majesty held him in his favour, and spoke well of him; but for Vorstius, he was obliged, through these solicitations of James, to renounce provisionally his employment, and leave Leyden, and expect elsewhere a definitive sentence concerning this dispute. He retired to Gouda about May 1612, where he lived quiet till the year 1619, when he was forced to leave Holland; for the synod of Dort having declared him unworthy of the professor's chair, the states of the province deprived him of that employment, and condemned him to a perpetual banishment[b].——So sad a thing it is for private men to have princes for their adversaries! right or wrong they must submit, and cannot make resistance. Though how honourable it is for princes to attack such, the reader will determine.

I will conclude this note with observing that this declaration of James against Vorstius, was printed in

[a] Winwood, vol. III. p. 331.

[b] Bayle's Dictionary, article Vorstius (Conrad.)

two of his own subjects to be burnt for heresy [48].

French, Latin, Dutch, and English, and consequently his monstrous zeal, his unprincely revilings, and his weak and pitiful reasonings were known throughout Europe [a]. But after all, I presume, it was held in small account. For Mr. Norton, who "had the printing of it in Latin, swore he would not print it, unless he might have money to print it [b]."

[48] He caused two of his own subjects to be burnt for heresy.] The names of these two were Bartholomew Legate, and Edward Wightman. The first of these was a man of great skill in the scriptures, and his conversation unblameable. His errors were somewhat of the same kind with those attributed to Socinus; and withal he had the hardiness to say, that the Nicene and Athanasian creeds contain not a profession of the true Christian faith. James caused him to be brought to him, and attempted his conversion; but when he found that he was intractable, he dismissed him with a contemptuous speech; and afterwards by the bishops being declared an incorrigible heretic, he gave orders to direct the writ *de hæretico comburendo* to the sheriffs of London, and in Smithfield he was burned to ashes. What Wightman was, or what his errors, is hard to say. The heresies of Ebion, Cerinthus, Valentinian, Arrius, Macedonius, Simon Magus, Manes, Manichæus, Photinus, and the Anabaptists, were reckoned up against him in the warrant for his burning; but probably, he knew not what they meant thereby, any more than they themselves did who inserted them in his accusation. They were hard words, and

[a] Winwood, vol. III. p. 339. [b] Usher's Letters, p. 13.

It is very remarkable, that in this decla-

they thought, it may be, that they would terrify and affright. However, this is certain, that for his errors, whatever they were, he was burnt at Litchfield[a]. These executions were in the year 1611.

James had another heretic to exercise his zeal on also; but seeing those that suffered were much pitied, he very mercifully let him linger out his life in Newgate. Had I not reason then to say, that I doubted not James would have been as good as his word, in making Vorstius confess his heresies, had he been his subject? I make no doubt but that he would have used his endeavours; and if these had failed, would have treated him as bad as he did Legate and Wightman. For he had the spirit of an inquisitor: no pity, no compassion was within him: he had no sense of the worth of those men who preferred a good conscience before all things; he thought it was only obstinacy in them, and therefore deemed them worthy of punishment. So easy is it for men who have no principles themselves, to censure and condemn those who are truly honest and sincere. I wish for the honour of human nature, for the honour of Christianity, and the honour of the reformation, that no such instances of persecution had been to be found; but, as we cannot blot them out, we ought to set a mark on those who occasioned them, that so their names may be treated with that indignation they so justly merit.

Since the writing the above, by means of a very worthy friend, I have got sight of the commissions and warrants for the condemnation and burning of Legate and Wightman. The commissions are directed

[a] Fuller's Church Hist. cent. 17. book 10. p. 64, 65.

ration against Vorstius, he falls foul on the

to Thomas lord Elsmere, chancellor of England. The warrant for the burning Legate is addressed to the sheriffs of London, the other for Wightman, to the sheriff of Litchfield. By the commissions the chancellor is ordered to award and make out, under the great seal of England, writs of execution; and the sheriffs by the warrant, are required to commit the heretics to the fire. The heresies of Legate are (as I have represented them from Fuller) reckoned up as the reason for putting him to death. As for what is charged to Wightman's account, if it be true, (for great doubt is to be made of the truth of persecutors) he was certainly an enthusiast, but, for aught appears, a harmless one; for he is charged with holding, that "he was the prophet spoken of in the eighteenth of Deuteronomy in these words, I will rise them up a prophet, &c. and that this place of Isaiah, I alone have trodden the winepress; and that other place, whose fan is in his hand, are proper and personal to him the said Edward Wightman. He is also accused with believing himself the comforter spoken of in St. John's gospel, and the Elias to come; and that he was sent to perform his part in the work of the salvation of the world." But for his holding the opinions of Manes, and Manichees, (as with great learning and judgment they are distinguished in the warrant) and Simon Magus, nothing at all appears even from the enumeration of his adversaries. So that I guessed right, that the inserting of these hard names was to terrify and affright[a]. I will insert a paragraph from the warrant for the exe-

[a] The Connexion, being some choice Collections of some principal Matters in king James's reign, 8vo. p. 72,—90. Lond. 1681.

name of Arminius[49]; and that afterwards

cution of Legate, with the reader's leave, which will shew us pretty much the temper of James, and so conclude. "As a zealot of justice, and a defender of the catholic faith, and willing to defend and maintain the holy church, and rights and liberties of the same, and the catholic faith, and such heresies and errors every where what in us lieth, to root out and extirpate, and to punish with condign punishment such heretics so convicted, and deeming that such an heretic in form aforesaid, convicted and condemned according to the laws and customs of this our kingdom of England, in this part occasioned, ought to be burned with fire, we do command, &c.[a]."

[49] He falls foul on the name of Arminius.]——Arminius was a man of sense; he saw the consequences of the calvinistical doctrines, and set himself to oppose them; but he did it with candour and modesty. Whether his scheme be in all parts of it defensible, or whether he in any place has run into one extreme in order to avoid another, and needlessly made innovations in the received doctrines of the reformed churches, I leave to divines to be considered. It is sufficient here to observe that his doctrine was received by many men of great understandings, and that his manners were irreproachable. His memory therefore ought to have been dear to every good man, and his reputation should have remained unsullied. But James attacked him; he calls him a "seditious and heretical preacher, an infector of Leyden with heresy, and an enemy of God[b];" and withal he complains of his "hard hap not

[a] The Connexion, being some choice Collections of some principal Matters in king James's reign, 8vo. p. 79. Lond. 1681. [b] James's Works, p. 350, 354, 355.

he contributed much to the condemnation of his followers, by sending his divines to

to hear of him before he was dead, and that all the reformed churches in Germany had with open mouths complained of him[a]."——Hard hap indeed! to be ignorant of the sentiments of a professor of divinity, and unable to enter the lists with him; for this probably he would have done, had he found any thing to have fastened on.——But James's anger against Arminius soon declined. Though he here branded him for an enemy to God, "yet having seen the opinion of his followers, and their adversaries, and the arguments by which they were supported, discussed at large, he tells the States General, it did not appear to him that either of them were inconsistent with the truth of the Christian faith, and the salvation of souls[b]." This letter is dated March 6, 1613, and is plainly contradictory to what I have just cited from his writings. But a contradiction was nothing to him. A man shall be an enemy to God, or the contrary, just as he takes it in his head; for it was a small matter with him to accuse, revile, and rail: he was a king, and he expected his word should be taken, though he rendered not a reason. However James's fit of good-humour lasted not long, with respect to the followers of Arminius in Holland; they soon again were bad men, held wicked doctrines, and such as were worthy of his care to extirpate, as we shall presently see. He joined with their adversaries, and contributed to their undoing; so that he had no stability of judgment, or resolution, but was various as the wind.

[a] James's Works, p. 350, 354, 355. [b] Abridgment of Brandt's Hist. of the Reformation, vol. I. p. 325. and Winwood, vol. III. p. 452.

the synod of Dort[50], where their doctrine was rejected, the contrary thereunto con-

[50] He contributed much to the condemnation of his followers, by sending his divines to the synod of Dort.] The end and design of this synod was to condemn the remonstrants; it was called by their professed enemies, and composed of such as were most of all set against them. They took an oath indeed, "that in examining and deciding, they would use no human writing, but only the word of God. And that during all their discussions, they would aim only at the glory of God, the peace of the church, and especially the preservation of the purity of doctrine[a]." But this was no guard; every thing was determined according to their preconceived opinions, and the contrary was judged false and heretical. For it is the manner of these assemblies to assume to themselves somewhat more wisdom than the writers of the New Testament ever pretended to. They know better how to express doctrines, how to guard against heresies, how to secure the peace of the church, and above all how to silence and convince gainsayers in the most effectual manner. But, somewhat unluckily, it has happened out, that where they have once done good, they have ten times done hurt. Where one breach in the church has been made up by them, many have been caused; and where one heresy, as it is called, has been suppressed, numbers have been occasioned by them. So that it would be a very difficult matter to say what good purpose they have ever answered. To the members of them, indeed, they have been useful. They have established their reputation for orthodoxy with the unthinking

[a] Abridgment of Brandt, vol. II. p. 417.

firmed, and they themselves stigmatized as introductors of novelties, obstinate and dis-

vulgar; given them an opportunity of gratifying their ambition and love of power; and above all of satiating their revenge on those who have eclipsed their reputation, and hindered them from making the figure they were inclined to. But too sad a truth is it, that they never have promoted peace, unity, and love among Christians, or the practice of those other virtues which are so strongly inculcated in the gospel[a]. And therefore well were it for the world, if it had an assurance of their never more coming into reputation; for the mischiefs they always cause are innumerable. ——No wonder then that the synod of Dort turned out as it did. It had been a miracle if peace had been the consequence of it. For whatever has been the pretence, I believe it hardly ever was the real end of the meetings of this sort. But let us see what hand James had in this synod, and how he contributed to the condemnation of the followers of Arminius.—— The synod began to meet Nov. 13, 1618. It consisted of thirty-six ministers of the United Provinces, and five professors, together with twenty elders; to these were added twenty-eight foreign divines, among whom were the following sent by James, George Carleton bishop of Landaff, Joseph Hall dean of Worcester, John Davenant professor of divinity and master of queen's college at Cambridge, and Samuel Ward archdeacon of Taunton, head of Sydney college at Cambridge, and sometime after, Walter Balcanqual, a

[a] See Andrew Marvel's Hist. Essay touching general councils, creeds, &c. and Jortin's Preface to his Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. I. p. 14.

obedient, preachers of erroneous doctrine, and corrupters of religion; and as such

Scotch divine, was added to them, to represent the churches of his country[a]. [The ever memorable John Hales also attended the synod, not as a member, but was sent by Sir Dudley Carleton, the English ambassador at Holland, whose chaplain he was, to give him an account of what passed in the synod[b].] These divines sent by James were not as furious in their behaviour towards the remonstrants, as their own countrymen; but they performed the errand for which they were sent, the condemnation of the opinions of Arminius, and establishment of those of Calvin. For this purpose these gentlemen, though one of them a bishop, and most of the other dignified in an episcopal church; these gentlemen, I say, took on them to handle the controverted points, and to engage against the errors of the Arminians, in a synod made up of mere presbyters, and the president of which was only one of the same character[c]. They made speeches to overthrow certain distinctions framed by the remonstrants, for the maintenance of their positions, and evasion from the contra-remonstrants arguments[d]. They differed among themselves[e], and fell into heats with some of the other members[f]; but they agreed in approving the Belgic confession of faith, and the Heidelberg catechism[g]. In short, they dispatched the work intended, and contributed to the woes which followed soon after upon the poor Arminians.——It is remarkable also that seven years did not suffice to allay the wrath of James

[a] Abridgment of Brandt, vol. II. p. 406. [b] Hales's Golden Remains, p. 454. 8vo. Lond. 1687. [c] Id. ib. [d] Id. p. 459. [e] Id. p. 470. [f] Id. p. 484, and 506. [g] Abridgment of Brandt, vol. II. p. 511.

condemned to be deprived of all ecclesiastical and academical functions.

against Vorstius: for almost at the conclusion of the synod, his clergy read an extract of that professor's errors; they called those errors blasphemies against the nature of God, and said that the sale of Vorstius's book should be prohibited. Lastly, they demanded that his book *de Deo* should be burned in a solemn manner; and they produced a decree of the university of Cambridge, by virtue of which that book had been burnt publicly [a]. The effect of these representations I have mentioned in note (45). If it be asked why the part the English clergy took in the affairs at Dort, is attributed to James? the answer is, that they themselves owned, that they had been deputed to the synod by the king, and not by the church of England [b]. And so intent was he on the business of the synod, "that he commanded them to give him a weekly account of all its memorable passages, with the receipt of which he was highly pleased [c]." "Yea, they were instructed at all times to consult with the English ambassador [Sir Dudley Carleton] who was acquainted with the form of the Low countries, understood well the questions and differences amongst them, and from time to time received James's princely directions [d]."——So that he was properly the actor in this place, and the condemner of the opinions held by the enemy of God [e] and his followers. Whoever calls to mind the deprivations and banishment which followed the decisions of this synod, of such great men as Episcopius, Uytenbogart, Corvinus, &c. and the persecution which en-

[a] Abridgment of Brandt, vol. II. p. 514. [b] Id. p. 501. [c] Fuller's Church Hist. cent. 17. b. 10. p. 79. [d] Id. p. 78. [e] See note 49.

But severe as James was against the Arminians abroad, he favoured them much at

sued throughout the United Provinces, against the Arminians; whoever considers these, will be apt to entertain but a poor opinion of those men who were actors in it. Some of the divines might possibly mean well; but the kings, princes, and great men concerned therein, had, undoubtedly, worldly views, and were actuated by them. For though purity of doctrine, peace of the church, extirpation of heresy, were pretended, the state faction of the Arminians was to be suppressed, and that of Maurice prince of Orange exalted. A synod was judged necessary for these purposes, and it extremely well performed what it was intended for. The remonstrants were rendered odious to the populace; their men of parts sent into exile; their strength was exhausted; and they could no longer oppose the measures of their adversaries. ——Dr. Heylin observes, that "as king James had formerly aspersed the remonstrant party, so he continued a most bitter enemy unto them, till he had brought them at the last to an extermination. But he seems at a loss to tell what should induce him hereunto. Some suppose, says he, that he was drawn into it by Abbot and Mountague; others imputed it to his education in the church of Scotland: one thought that he was drawn into it by his affection for prince Maurice; another that he was moved by reasons of state, for the preventing a dangerous and incurable rupture, which otherwise was like to follow in the state of the Netherlands." This last reason he thinks most probable. He afterwards adds, "that James sent such of his divines as were most likely to be sufficiently active

home[51], and advanced several of them to

in the condemnation of the Arminians[a]." Reasons of state might have had some influence on James, though he had little knowledge of it, and generally was little influenced by it. But I fancy it was a regard to his own character which chiefly induced him to act as he did in this affair. For we have seen how he had treated the name of Arminius, in a writing dispersed throughout Europe. Had he failed on such an opportunity to extirpate his errors, his zeal for orthodoxy might have been thought to have been lessened, and he to have failed in that which he had declared to be the duty of a king, the extirpation of heresy.

[51] He favoured the Arminians much at home.] The articles of the church of England are plainly calvinistical, as will appear to every one who will read them attentively. They were "agreed on by the archbishops and bishops of both provinces, and the whole clergy, in the convocation holden at London, in the year 1562, for the avoiding of diversities of opinions, and for the establishment of consent touching true religion[b]." The avoiding of diversities of opinions, and the establishment of consent was the professed design of them, and doubtless the compilers of them imagined that they should effectually accomplish it, by requiring all who entered into the church to subscribe to them. But they were very much mistaken. Diversity of opinions soon arose, and men who subscribed the same articles, held contradictory opinions. Nor could it possibly be otherwise; for while men are inquisitive they will see things in new lights; and those who are

[a] Heylin's Hist. of the Presbyterians, p. 402. fol. Oxford, 1670.

[b] Vide the Articles of Religion, and Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, Canon 36. and Statute 13 Eliz. c. 12. sect. 1. and 3.

the greatest dignities. So amazingly inconsistent was his conduct.

honest and sincere, will not speak contrary to their sentiments. Subscriptions then are only clogs and incumbrances; they answer no good end, but may occasion many mischiefs. Yea, many there are who believe that "the imposing articles has given occasion to almost all the uncharitableness and persecutions, the devastations and destruction of christians, that have ever been since articles first were made[a]."——In the time of Elizabeth there was a pretty great uniformity of belief in the doctrinal points of religion among the clergy; they in general were Calvinists, and so were their successors in the reign of James. Bancroft indeed was very different in his opinion. But Abbot, Mountague, and almost all the rest of the bishops adhered to the doctrine of the church in like manner as their predecessors. Thus things continued till about the year 1616, when James being acquainted with what dangers would proceed from training up of young students in the grounds of Calvinism, dispatched some directions to the vice-chancellor, and professors of divinity at Oxford, which was "the first step, says Dr. Heylin, towards the suppressing of that reputation which Calvin and his writings had attained unto in that university[b]." And in the year 1622, instructions were drawn up and sent to the archbishops, and by them to the bishops, in which they were required to see to it, "that no preacher of what title soever, under the degree of a bishop or

[a] Essay on imposing and subscribing Articles of Religion, by Philelentherus Cantabrigiensis, p. 31. Lond. 1719. 8vo. [b] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 72. Lond. 1668. fol.

Cardinal Perron having pronounced in the chamber of the third estate at Paris,

dean at the least, do henceforth presume to preach in any popular auditory, the deep points of predestination, election, reprobation, or of the universality, efficacy, resistibility, or irresistibility of God's grace[a]." Laud had a hand in drawing this up, and what his intent was thereby, is not difficult to guess. However so it was, that the Calvinists continually lost ground in the king's favour, and the Arminians had credit with him. Laud, Howson, and Corbet were advanced to bishopricks by him, though publicly known to be Arminians: Neile, of the like opinion, was in great favour, and received many promotions from him: and Richard Montague, one of the most violent Arminians of the age, received his open protection and approbation of all the opinions contained in the book for which he was afterwards questioned in parliament[b]. What shall we think of such a conduct as this? are the same doctrines heresies abroad, and truths at home? are men in Holland to be deemed enemies to God, and worthy of synodical condemnation for holding particular opinions, and in England fit for the highest ecclesiastical promotions? what must the world judge of the man who behaved so very contradictory?—— But James had his reasons for favouring the Arminians in England. They were supple and fawning, they knew how to flatter artfully, and, above all, they seemed very zealous in preaching up

> The right divine of kings to govern wrong,
> And
> Th' enormous faith of millions made for one[c].

[a] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 98. Lond. 1668. fol. [b] Id. p. 125. and Cabala, p. 111. [c] Pope's Essay on Man, ep. 3. l. 243.

Jan. 15, 1615, an oration, and sent it to James, he soon after published his remon-

Nothing could be more acceptable to him than this, it atoned for their errors, yea made them most orthodox in his sight. For he was either indifferent as to all religious principles, or believed just nothing at all about them; or otherwise he could not have acted as we see he did.

The following account from Mr. Waller's life will make a proper supplement to what has been said concerning the artful flattery, and high prerogative notions of the Arminian clergy at this time.——"On the day of the dissolution of the last parliament of king James I. Mr. Waller, out of curiosity or respect, went to see the king at dinner, with whom were Dr. Andrews the bishop of Winchester, and Dr. Neal bishop of Durham, standing behind his majesty's chair. There happened something very extraordinary in the conversation those prelates had with the king, on which Mr. Waller did often reflect. His majesty asked the bishops, My lords, cannot I take my subjects money when I want it, without all this formality in parliament? The bishop of Durham readily answered, God forbid, Sir, but you should; you are the breath of our nostrils: whereupon the king turned and said to the bishop of Winchester, well, my lord, what say you? Sir, replied the bishop, I have no skill to judge of parliamentary cases. The king answered, no put-offs, my lord, answer me presently. Then, Sir, said he, I think it is lawful for you to take my brother Neal's money, for he offers it. Mr. Waller said the company was pleased with this answer, and the wit of it seemed to affect the king[a]."

[a] Account of the Life and Writings of Mr. Waller, prefixed to his poems, p. 67. edit. Lond. 1712. 12mo.

strance[52] for the right of kings, and the independance of their crowns, against the

[52] He published his remonstrance for the rights of kings.] This piece is written with much more decency than the other controversial tracts of James. He acknowledgeth Perron to be a prelate in great authority, and of no less learning[a], and owns his courtesy in sending him a copy of his oration[b]. But at the same time he insinuates that in the cardinal's speech, his lips looked one way, and his conscience another: and professes, "his rest is up, that one of the maynes for which God had advanced him upon the loftie stage of the supream throne, was, that his words uttered from so eminent a place, for God's honour, most shamefully traduced and vilified in his own deputies and lieutenants, might with greater facility be conceived[c]." Then he gives the reasons for his engaging in this controversy: which were first, "the common interest of kings."

Secondly, "The cardinal's speaking as one representing the clergy and nobility."

Thirdly, "Because he himself had been represented by him as a sower of dissention, and a persecutor, under whom the church is hardly able to fetch her breath; yea, for one by whom the catholics of his kingdom are compelled to endure all sorts of punishments."

Lastly, "By reason that France was reduced to so miserable terms, that it was become a crime for a Frenchman to stand for his king, it was a necessary duetie of her neighbours to speak in her behalf[d]." ——These are the reasons alledged by James for engaging against Perron. After this he proceeds to his

[a] King James's Works, p. 383. [b] Id. p. 386. [c] Id. p. 382. [d] Id. p. 390.

oration of the most illustrious cardinal of Perron. This was his last controversial

defence of the right of kings, and endeavours to shew "that what the cardinal had advanced in support of his doctrine, that it was absurd and incongruous to condemn, or wrappe under the solemn curse, the abetters of the pope's power to unking lawful and sovereign kings: he endeavours to prove that what was said by the cardinal in behalf hereof, was meer nullity, matter of imagination, and built upon false presuppositions[a]." To enter into a minute detail of James's arguments would be tiresome to the reader. Let it therefore suffice to say, that he quotes fathers, councils and schoolmen; and that history and scripture are alledged by him, and sometimes not impertinently.——It appears from this defence of the right of kings, that James had had a correspondence with Perron for years before; that he had sent him a discourse in writing, to which in three years the cardinal had not replied, which is attributed not to a want of capacity, but to "well advised agnition of his own working and building upon a weak foundation[b]." If one knew nothing more of James than what might be gathered from this book, one should be tempted to imagine that he was a most zealous protestant. For he attributes all the miseries of France and Great Britain to the Romish clergy[c], whom he paints out in no very agreeable colours; and at the same time praises the French protestants in an extraordinary manner. He tells us he could never "learn that those of the religion in France, took arms against their king. In the first civil wars, says he, they stood only upon their guard; they armed

[a] King James's Works, p. 396. [b] Id. p. 470. [c] Id. p. 393.

work. But besides the pieces already

not, nor took the field before they were pursued with fire and sword, burnt up and slaughtered. They were a refuge and succour to the princes of the blood; in regard of which worthy and honourable service, the French king hath reason to have the protestants in his gracious remembrance. He then sets forth their great merit with respect to the third and fourth Henry, to whom they stood in all their battles, to bear up the crown then tottering and ready to fall[a]." This is a very remarkable testimony to the fidelity and loyalty of the Hugonots, as it comes from one who hated their principle of parity in the church, looked on such as held it as very pests in church and commonwealth, and who spoke more bitterly of them than of the papists[b]. For the French protestants differed nothing at all from the English and Scotch puritans, either in discipline or doctrine. This remonstrance against Perron, was written first in French by his majesty, afterwards by his leave translated into English, as also into Latin, Anno 1616, in 4to. for I remember to have seen such an edition of it in that language.——Perron though he had neglected James's private writing returned an answer to this public remonstrance, for in the account of the said cardinal's writings in Perrault's characters[c], and in Collier's dictionary[d], I find a work intitled, "a reply to the king of Great Britain's answer." Whether this is the whole of the title I know not, any more than I do what the answer contained, for both these authors are by much too superficial in their accounts of the most eminent writers, and their

[a] King James's Works, p. 480. [b] See note 12. [c] Characters Historical and Panegyrical, vol. II. p. 5. [d] Great Historical Dictionary, article Perron (James Davy du.)

mentioned, he published also a counter-

performances[a].——As this remonstrance is the last polemical work of James which we have to mention, Lord Shaftsbury's description of him as a prince-writer, will not improperly conclude this note. As to which, from what has been seen by the reader already, he may in a good measure be able to judge of its truth and propriety. "A prince of a pacific nature and fluent thought, submitting arms and martial discipline to the gown; and confiding in his princely science and profound learning, made his style and speech the nerve and sinew of his government. He gave us his works full of wise exhortation and advice to his royal son, as well as of instruction to his good people; who could not without admiration observe their author-sovereign, thus studious and contemplative in their behalf. 'Twas then one might have seen our nation growing young and docile, with that simplicity of heart which qualified them to profit like a scholar-people under their royal preceptor. For with abundant eloquence he graciously gave lessons to his parliament, tutored his ministers, and edified the greatest churchmen and divines themselves; by whose suffrage he obtained the highest appellations which could be merited by the acutest wit, and truest understanding. From hence the British nations were taught to own in common a Solomon for their joint sovereign, the founder of their late compleated union[b]." Whether this description of our author-sovereign, as his lordship styles him, be too soft or severe, I leave entirely to the judgment of the reader: nothing doubting but he will be pleased to see it, whatever he may think of it.

[a] Vide Appendix. [b] Characteristicks, vol. I. p. 192. edit. 12mo. 1746.

blaste to tobacco[53], began a translation of the psalms of king David; and writ a

[53] He published a counterblaste to tobacco.] This was first printed in quarto, without name or date. It is a wretched performance both for matter and manner. In it he sets forth how dishonourable it is in us to imitate the beastly Indians in so vile and stinking a custom as using tobacco; how unreasonable the pleas alledged in defence of it are; and the mischievous consequences flowing from the use, or filthy abuse of it. Here he tells us that by using tobacco men are guilty of sinful and shameful lust; that it is a branch of the sin of drunkenness; that it enervates the body, and ruins the estate; for, adds he, "some gentlemen bestow three, some four hundred pounds a year upon this precious stink[a]." If this is true it is very amazing. Though it is certain James laid a most heavy duty on it, in order to hinder its consumption. "For there is extant his warrant to the lord treasurer Dorset, Anno 1604, for laying a good heavy imposition on tobacco, that less quantity may be brought into the realm, and only sufficient for the better sort, who will use it with moderation for their health; wherefore he authorizes the said treasurer to order, that from the 26th of October ensuing, the proper officers should take of all who import tobacco, the sum of six shillings and eight pence upon every pound weight, over and above the custom of two pence per pound usually paid heretofore[b]." Excellent policy this! to discourage the taking of that which has since proved one of the greatest re-

[a] King James's Works, p. 221. [b] Rymer's Fœdera, tom. XVI. fol. 601. apud Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 32. note d. fol. Lond. 1733. and Acta Regia, p. 518. fol. Lond. 1734.

few sonnets and epitaphs[54]. So fond was he of shewing his parts, instructing and

venues of the crown, and has produced vast benefit to Britain, and her plantations. For two of our colonies are supported by it; great numbers of ships and seamen are employed in bringing it over; and the custom duties of it are counted, on a medium, to amount to 169,079l. 0s. 10d. per annum. But it is no wonder "that such a philosopher, as could magnify the power of witches, after the manner he has done in one of his learned pamphlets, should be such a politician as to discourage the taking of tobacco in another," says Mr. Oldys[a]. "But those who have not admired," continues the same gentleman, "at his prejudice in this attempt to dispel the fumes of that herb with greater of his own, if I may allude to the witty title of his performance without imputation of irreverence to his memory, may yet applaud his policy, in so far conducing to its suppression, as to exclude it from the body of his works, when this royal pamphleteer resolved to become an author in folio." If I understand this paragraph aright, it is asserted in it that the counterblast to tobacco, makes no part of James's folio volume. But this is a mistake, and could proceed from nothing but trusting, I suppose, too much to memory, in a thing of small importance. A fault, that even the most exact authors are liable to fall into.

[54] He began a translation of the psalms of king David, &c.] In lord Anglesey's catalogue, I find king James's translation of the psalms to be sung after the old tunes, 1651[b]; and I am assured by a learned

[a] Oldys, p. 32. [b] Bibliotheca Anglesiana, article (Divinity, in small 8vo. 12mo. &c. p. 19.) Lond. 1686. 4to.

entertaining his good subjects, and overcoming his adversaries in literary contests!

friend, from one who has seen it, that such a translation was published in his name, though I have not yet been so fortunate as to meet with it. But this translation was only begun by James, as we may learn from the following quotation. "This translation he was in hand with, says bishop Williams, (when God called him to sing psalms with the angels.)——He intended to have finished and dedicated it to the only saint of his devotion, the church of Great Britain, and that of Ireland. This work was staied in the one and thirty psalm[a]."———We have two sonnets of his in his works[b]; an epitaph on the chancellor of Scotland, in Spotswood[c]; and another on that valiant, polite, and learned gentleman, Sir Philip Sydney, in Collier's dictionary. This latter, being but short, I will give to the reader, as a specimen of James's poetry.

When Venus saw the noble Sydney dying,
She thought it her beloved Mars had been;
And with the thought thereof she fell a crying,
And cast away her rings and carknets clean.
He that in death a goddess mock'd and griev'd,
What had he done (trow you) if he had lived[d].

This, I think, is one of the best of his poetical compositions. The reader, after this, need not be told that James's talents for poetry were not extraordinary. Besides the pieces of poetry I have mentioned, I am in-

[a] Great Britain's Salomon. A sermon preached at the magnificent funeral of the most high and mighty king James. By John lord bishop of Lincolne, lord keeper of the great seale of England. London, printed for John Bill, printer to the king's most excellent majesty. 1625. p. 42. 4to. [b] James's Works, p. 89, 137. [c] Ch. Hist. p. 411. [d] Great Historical Dictionary, article Sidney, (Sir Philip.)

but he had an absolute aversion to war[55]. This led him hastily to conclude a peace

formed by the very worthy and learned Dr. Birch, that there is extant in James's name, another intitled, "His Majesty's Lepanto, or Heroical Story, being part of his poetical exercises at vacant hours, London, 1603. in 4to." A sight of this, perhaps, might afford some diversion. This book being burnt among those of the honourable Charles York, Esq. at Lincoln's Inn in the late fire there, Mr. Birch could give no further account of it.

[55] He had an absolute aversion to war.] "I know not by what fortune the dicton of Pacificus was added to my title, at my coming into England: that of the lyon expressing true fortitude, having been my dicton before: but I am not ashamed of this addition; for king Solomon was a figure of Christ in that, that he was a king of peace. The greatest gift that our Saviour gave his apostles, immediately before his ascension, was, that he left his peace with them; he himself having prayed for his persecutors, and forgiven his own death, as the proverb is[a]."———In the first audience the duke of Sully had of James, he told him, "that if he had found the English at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace with a prince, [Henry the fourth] who, like himself, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: it being always commendable, said he, to overcome evil with good[b]." These are good sentiments enough for private persons; but they may be carried much too far by princes. Forgiveness and impunity from these only draw on fresh injuries; and he

[a] King James's Works, p. 590. [b] Sully's Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 25.

with Spain[56], to the amazement and great

who will not at any time avenge wrongs received, will be sure to meet with enough of them. Princes owe protection to their subjects; but this cannot be afforded many times, unless chastisement be inflicted on those who injure them. Wars therefore are sometimes necessary; and a warlike prince will be always respectable to his neighbours. But the known coward will be looked on with contempt. He will be affronted perpetually, and every opportunity will be taken to ridicule and oppress him. So that though the love of peace in princes be commendable, yet, when it is carried too far, it degenerates into a fault, and gives just ground for the subjects' complaints. Happy the people who have a prince who neither loves nor fears to draw his sword! They may be sure of being defended in their just rights by him; of being guarded from unjust invasions, and secured by his valour from the evils which threaten them. His power will make him considerable in the eyes of his neighbours; they will attend to his reasons, and be influenced by his persuasions. For they will not slightly provoke one known not tamely to put up injuries. So that the profession of fortitude and resolution, of courage and magnanimity, becomes better the mouths of princes, than that of meekness and forgiving of injuries: for the former may, possibly, be of use and service, but the latter can answer no good purpose in the present state of the world.

[56] This led him to conclude a peace with Spain, &c.] The peace was concluded Aug. 18, 1604. But before this, in a few weeks after James came into England, he revoked the letters of reprisal on the subjects of Spain, which had been granted by Elizabeth, with-

advantage of the Spaniards; who thereby

out staying to be solicited on that head, or to be complimented on his accession to the throne, by the king of Spain[a]. So that he disarmed his subjects before he had provided for their better security. He stopped them in the course of doing themselves justice, before he was sure of obtaining reparation for their past losses.——The king of Spain had now reduced himself to a very low ebb, by his wars with England and the Netherlands, in which, for the most part, he had been unsuccessful. The king of Spain, says Sir Walter Raleigh, in his discourse touching a war with Spain, written before the conclusion of the peace, and intended to be presented to James. "The king of Spain, says he, is now so poor, as he employed his Jesuits to beg for him at every church-door in Spain.

"His revenues are mortgaged in such sort, as of twenty-five millions, he has but five millions free; his ships are worn-out and consumed, and his people in general exceeding poor.

"He hath of late received many affronts and losses; and in Peru many of the chiefest and best towns are recovered from him by the natives.

"And commonly, when great monarchies begin once in the least to decline, their dissipation will soon follow after.

"The Spanish empire hath been greatly shaken, and hath begun of late years to decline; and it is a principle in philosophy, that *omnis diminutio est preparatio ad corruptionem.* That the least decay of any part is a forerunner of the destruction of the whole.

[a] Oldcastle's Remarks on the Hist. of England, p. 238. and Acta Regia, p. 521.

had an opportunity given them of retriev-

"And though it may be awhile upheld, as the state of Rome was by Vespasian and Trajan; yet following the former declination, *retro statim sublapsa fertur usque dum plane subversa fuit.* It presently fell back again, and never left declining till the Roman state was utterly overthrown.

"But if now the king of Spain can obtain peace upon any condition reasonable, so as he may fortify his weakness, both in Europe and the Indies, and gather again sufficient riches, putting the English from the exercise of war in those parts, and so make us to forget his Indies, till those be consumed that know them; he will soon grow to his former greatness and pride: and then if your majesty shall leave the Low Countries, and he finds us by ourselves, it will not be long e'er he remembers his old practices and attempts[a]."——But no such considerations as these could have any influence on James. He had revoked the letters of reprisal, and a peace he was determined to have.——You shall now understand (says lord Cecyll to Mr. Winwood, in a letter dated Ap. 12, 1604.) "that the constable of Castile is come to Dunkirk, and resolved presently to take his passage; so as there is now nothing so certain as a treaty, and in my opinion nothing more likely than a peace. For as it is most true, that his majesty's mind is most inclinable thereunto, and that in contemplation thereof, things have been so carried here, as if a war were now somewhat unseasonable, so you may see by the king of Spain's great descent from the heighth of his forms towards other princes, as he is

[a] The Works of Sir Walter Raleigh, Kt. political, commercial, and philosophical, by Tho. Birch, M. A. vol. II. p. 12. 8vo. Lond. 1751.

ing their almost desperate affairs, and of

determined to go through with it; being now it seems confirmed in the French position, *qui a le profit a l'honneur.* A matter I do confess to you I do clearly foresee he will have, unless the estates of those poor countries [the Netherlands] have some more adjuvances towards their subsisting[a]."——The treaty was soon concluded, of friendship and amity, and mutual trade to each other's dominions[b].——It is very remarkable, that low as the Spaniards were, depending on James's pacific disposition, they stiffly denied the English free trade and commerce with the East and West Indies[c]; and got it inserted in the articles that no aid or assistance whatsoever should be given to the enemies or rebels on either part; yea moreover they had the English in Spain subjected to the power of the inquisition[d]. Cecyll indeed said it were vanity to have expected more than they had concerning the matter of trade to the Indies, and the inquisition. But it does not appear that he had reason for his affirmation. For the Spaniards were in so much want of a peace, that they would have submitted to almost any thing to obtain it; and they themselves were surprised to find that it was made on so advantageous conditions. Sir Charles Cornwallis, in a letter to the same Cecyll, lord viscount Cranborne, principal secretary to his majesty, from Spain, dated June 2, 1605, has the following remarkable expressions. "I find here by many arguments that this peace came opportunely for this kingdom, and is admired of all Europe, yea of this kingdom itself, how it was possible with so advantageous conditions

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 18. [b] Id. p. 22. [c] Id. p. 22.
[d] Id. p. 29.

pushing on the war with the Dutch, against

to them, and so little profitable to our realm it could be effected. The duke of Anera discoursing with one of great privacie and trust with him, after he had heard that the peace was in such forme concluded, said in plain termes, that the king and counsellors of England had not their senses when in such sort they agreed upon it. And some Spaniards have lately reported, that the king of Spain's money purchased this quiet; otherwise peace, with so good conditions could never have been obtained. I know that besides your lordship's exceeding wisdom, your lordship out of your true noble disposition, hath ever equalled the care of the saftie and honor of your countrie with your own life. I verily persuade myself that the king's own christian and earnest inclination to peace, lead on the treaty with speedy feet.———But by those collections that I have made, and relations of others well practised in this state, I find that England never lost such an opportunity of winning honor and wealth unto it, as by relinquishing the war with Spain. The king and kingdom were reduced to such an estate, as they could not in all likelihood have endured the space of two years more; his own treasurie was exhausted, his rents and customs sussigned for the most part for the payment of money borrowed, his nobility poor and much indebted, his merchants wasted, his people of the countrie in all extremitie of necessity, his devices of gaining by the increase of the valuation of money, and other such of that nature, all plaid over; his credit in borrowing, by means of the incertaintie of his estate during the war with England much decayed, the subjects of his many distracted dominions held in obedience by force and feare, not by love and dutie; and

whom they were, in a manner, implacable,

therefore rather a care and burthen, than a relief and strength to him. Himself very young, and in that regard with his people in no great veneration; and the less for suffering himself to be wholly governed by a man generally hated of his own country; his strength at sea not able to secure his ports at home, much less his Indies, or his treasure homewards[a]." This is rather a stronger picture of the deplorable state of Spain than Sir Walter Raleigh's, and from it, it clearly appears that we needed not have been afraid to have insisted on almost any thing from it; and consequently much less have submitted to a deprivation of the Indian trade and to the inquisition. But James's earnest inclination for peace, and the king of Spain's money procured this treaty: for money was distributed in abundance among the English courtiers who promoted the peace, as appears not only from what is asserted by Sir Charles Cornwallis in the above letter, but from other unquestionable authorities. In the memoirs of Sully we read, "That no sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London, than he multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained[b]." And Sir Henry Neville in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Aug. 19, 1604, writes, "We say the Spanish ambassadors have taken up many jewels here (we suppose to bestow upon our grandees; so not to leave any advantage to the French, who began that angling fashion unto them) with the king's privity and all men's wonder[c]."——And after the peace was made, the earl

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 75. [b] Sully's Memorials, vol. II. p. 181.
[c] Winwood, vol. II. p. 26.

on account of their revolt for religion and

of Nottingham, lord admiral, ambassador extraordinary into Spain, had bestowed on him at his departure, in plate, jewels and horses, to the value of twenty thousand pounds, by that king. And to some other of his principal attendants were given chains and jewels of great value[a]. And it appears from Sir Charles Cornwallis's letter to the earl of Salisbury, out of Spain, that there were many pensions given in the court of England[b]. Osborn, therefore, seems to have reason for saying, " that James cast himself as it were blindfold into a peace with Spain, far more destructive to England than a war; for it hath not only found that prince an opportunity to recover his strength (much abated by the queen's happy successes at sea) but gave him a fair advantage to establish himself in the kingdom of Portugal, and quiet the distempers of his own people. And as this peace, adds he, was of infinite consequence to the Spaniard, so he spared for no cost to procure it: and to prevent the inserting any article that might obstruct his recourse to or from the Indies (the magazine of strife) either on this side or beyond the line (thought by the English commissioners not included, however the contrary was after pretended, and no farther disputed by king James, than with patience and a quiet submission of his subjects to their sense, not rarely punishing such as transgrest, at their coming home) he presented all, both Scotish and English with gifts, and those no small ones; for by that the earl of Northampton, brother to Suffolk, had, he was alone able to raise and finish the goodly pile he built in the

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 89. and Birch's Negotiations, p. 223.
[b] Id. p. 96.

liberty. But notwithstanding, the articles

strand.—Nor are there a few others no less brave houses fresh in my memory, that had their foundations, if not their walls and roofs, plastered with the same mortar.—This I shall add as no improbable conjecture made by many in those days, that his Catholic majesty was so frighted by the apprehension of a possibility that our king, according to the nature, no less than the obligation of his country, might fall into a conjunction with France, that he would scarce at that time have denied him any thing, to the half of his Indies. And from hence all princes may calculate the vast difference that lies between a council suborned, and one free from corruption[a]." This last reflection, appears to me very judicious. "A gift blindeth the wise, and perverteth the words of the righteous," says the great Hebrew legislator[b]. No prince can ever be safe who permits his counsellors to take presents from foreign princes. For their judgments will be biassed, their affections be engaged, and they be disposed to serve others, more than their own master; so that of the utmost consequence is it to have ministers depend wholly on their prince, if they receive presents from others, they must earn them; by giving counsel suitable to the instructions they receive, or by divulging those resolutions which ought most of all to be concealed. They must be spies to those who bribe them, and unfaithful to their master by whom they are intrusted. So that it is amazing that James should consent to his grandees receiving the Spanish presents; for a moment's reflection would have set before him the pernicious consequences of it. The prince who would preserve his reputation,

[a] Osborn's Works, p. 470. [b] Exod. 23. 8.

of the peace were but poorly observed by them [57], and produced not the effect ex-

and accomplish his ends, should keep his counsels secret. He should have a strict eye on the ambassadors sent to him, that they gain not the weak by their address, the proud by their fawning, or the interested by their bounty. For nothing is more certain than that by flattery, cunning and seduction, they endeavour to delude ministers into a discovery of the secrets of state. In short, as a great writer expresses it, "they do all the mischief they can; their profession allows them to transgress; they sin out of duty, and are sure of impunity: 'tis against the wiles of those spies that princes ought to be chiefly on their guard [a]."

[57] The articles of the peace were but poorly observed by them, &c.] My authorities for this will not be disputed. Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated London, December 8, 1604, writes, "It is commonly reported that our merchants are ill-used in Spain by the inquisition; and besides that, that the trade proves nothing so beneficial as was expected; partly by reason that the merchants there are become poor by these wars, and not able to buy but upon days, and many of those that have been trusted, have played bankrupts, insomuch as some of ours have brought back their commodities, rather than they would sell upon credit; and partly, by reason, that in this time of long restraint of trade, they have been forced to betake themselves to the making of cloth there, and do make it now in that quantity, as they care not much for ours, which was wont to be our chiefest trade thither. And as for corn, the French, both by reason

[a] Anti-Machiavel, p. 316.

pected in point of profit, by the English, to whom the peace soon became very disagree-

of their nearness and abundance, will ever furnish them better cheap than we can. So as there appears little hope of any fruit of our peace in that regard; which joined with some other considerations of state, that have reference to your affairs there, [Holland] begins to cool that ardent affection which carried us so strongly to that treaty, and begets some discourses, (even amongst our greatest governors) that this will be but a short peace[a]."

And Sir Charles Cornwallis in a letter to the earl of Salisbury, dated Valladolid, October 18, 1605. O. S. tells him, "the Spaniards had made a general stay of justice to all or any of the king his masters subjects[b]." And the same gentleman, in a letter written from Madrid, in May 1606, tells lord Salisbury also, "that 'tis written to him from Sevill, that Don Lewis Firardo, in his voyage, met with certain ships from England, loaden with corn and bound to Sevill. That he first took the masters, and first set their necks in the stocks; after removed them to the admiral, and there with his own hands did as much to their leggs; revileing them, and calling them heretiques, Lutheran dogs, and enemies of Christ, threatning to hang them; and in conclusion having taken from them what he thought fit, returned them into their own ships. Besides the cruelty he shewed to those of Mr. Edward's ship in the Indies, he holdeth still in the gallies all the marriners of Mr. Hall's and Mr. Eldrid's ships, also those of Mr. Bromley[c]." The letters of Sir Charles are full of the wrongs

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 38. and Cabala, p. 199. [b] Winwood, vol. II. p. 143. [c] Id. p. 213. see also Cabala, p. 201.

able, by reason of the ill treatment they re-

the English received, and the endeavours he used in order to get satisfaction, though many times in vain. When he complained to the duke of Lerma, prime minister of Spain, of the behaviour of Firardo with regard to confiscating the merchants' effects, and sending the mariners whom he took in the Indies to the gallies; Lerma very sharply answered, "that Firardo shall be called to account for that he did not instantly execute them[a]." In short, such was the ill-treatment the subjects of the British Crown received from the Spaniards, that Sir Henry Neville, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated June 4, 1606, writes, "that upon Sunday last divers merchants and merchants wives were at the court, and made grievous complaint unto the king, the one of their servants, and the other of their husbands, imprisoned and put to the gallies in Spain, and of much injustice and oppression done there to our nation; besides some particular contumely to the king personally; the like complaint was made before to the lords. I hear it hath moved much, and this I will assure you, that the kingdom generally wishes this peace broken, but Jacobus Pacificus I believe will scarce incline to that side[b]." At length the patience of the merchants began to fail. They saw no relief from James, and therefore applied to the house of commons, to be a means for them to obtain letters of mart. The commons received favourably their address, and desired the assistance of the upper house. But this was refused. Though this gave occasion, says lord Salisbury, in a letter to Sir Charles Cornwallis, dated July 15, 1607, "to the lords of the council yesterday, to call the mer-

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 221. [b] Id. p. 217.

ceived. But James's pacific disposition

chants before them, and to acquaint them with the substance of these answers sent from Spain; and to advise them (if they find such a general ill usage in Spain as they complain of) to be more moderate in their trade thither, and to withdraw their stock and factors from thence, that so his majesty might grant them letters of reprisal, without prejudice to others that have large stocks there. Otherwise it would prove a most preposterous course, to grant letters of marte, where the king of Spayne hath so great occasion to revenge himself upon, and we scarse a ship or man to requite him in it[a]." But letters of mart and reprisal were never granted; though the Spaniards continued treat the English extremely ill, even when they pretended great friendship. For Sir Walter Raleigh speaks of it as a known fact, in a letter to king James himself, "that the Spaniards murthered twenty-six Englishmen, tying them back to back, and then cutting their throats, when they had traded with them a whole month, and came to them on the land, without so much as one sword[b]."—Surely the Spaniards must have had a very great reliance on the pacific disposition of James, to act after this manner, in their circumstances! and most amazing is it, that the national spirit had not exerted itself, in its own defence, more than it did.—Before I leave this subject, I cannot help remarking that almost all our treaties with Spain, seem to have been but badly observed by her. This first arose from the negligence of James, in making the peace. He contented himself with concluding a treaty of amity, and mutual trade to each other's dominions;

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 326. [b] Raleigh's Works, vol. II. p. 376.

continued; nor could the distresses of his only daughter, and her numerous progeny,

but trade and commerce being denied to the East and West Indies, and the Spaniards looking on all America as their own, it came to pass that they seized all vessels they found in those seas, though going only to those colonies which were indisputably discovered by the English. So that there was a continual war there, when there was peace in Europe. In 1668, and 1671, treaties were again made with that nation, whereby the right of commerce and navigation, and the bounds of the several territories possessed by the two crowns in America, were fixed. But these treaties were but ill observed likewise; and great complaints were made by the English, of the hardships they suffered from the Spaniards[a]. In 1713, a new treaty was made at Utrecht. But this was observed like the others. Complaints soon followed it; as they did that made at Seville, in 1729. The representation of our merchants with regard to their ill-treatment by the Spanish *guarda costas;* the imprisonment of our brave sailors to the number of seventy; the cutting off Jenkins's ear, and many other things still fresh in memory brought on the late war, which was ended by the peace at Aix la Chappelle, the effect of which must be left to time to discover.——What can be the reason that our treaties with Spain have been thus ineffectual for the maintenance of peace and friendship? Are they more false than others, or we more incroaching in order to obtain those riches they so carefully guard from us? are not the treaties sufficiently plain and explicit? do they

[a] See the representation of the board of trade to K. George I. in Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. IX. p. 414.

excite him to enter into a war[58] for their defence: But he suffered them to lose their

admit of different senses, and bear divers constructions? or have we not capacity sufficient to negotiate advantageously with them?—These things must be determined by those who have opportunities and abilities for their discussion. For my own part, I must say

> Non nostrum tantas componere lites[a].
> 'Tis not in me this contest to decide. TRAPP.

[58] Nor could the distresses of his only daughter, and her numerous progeny, excite him to enter into a war, &c.] This his daughter was Elizabeth, married to Frederick the fifth, elector Palatine, Feb. 14, 1613, N. S. to the great joy of all true protestants[b]. The marriage was celebrated with great pomp, and the prince gained the love and good-will of the English by his affability and great generosity[c]. The Spanish ambassador, and the ambassador from the arch-dukes, were not present at the marriage, being greatly enraged at it, "fearing indeed thereby," says Mr. Trumbull to Sir Ralph Winwood, "that we do aim at wresting the empire out of the Austrian's hands, which they say shall never be effected, so long as the conjoyned forces of all the catholiques in Christendom, shall be able to maintain them in that right, which now they have in a manner gotten by prescription[d]." But they had no reason for this their fear, for James so far from thinking to wrest the empire out of the Austrians' hands, did not so much as seriously resolve to support his own daughter, and her children, in their possessions.—I need not enter into a detail of the reasons which in-

[a] Vir. E. 3. I. 108.
[b] Winwood, vol. III. p. 434.
[c] Id. p. 421.
[d] Id. p. 439.

territories, and be exiles in a foreign land;

duced the Bohemians to shake off the Austrian yoke, and assert their own just privileges by electing Frederick for their king, Aug. 28, 1619. Our historians will satisfy the curiosity of such as want information in this matter. Let it suffice to say, that after the elector of Saxony, and the duke of Savoy, had refused the kingdom of Bohemia, Frederick accepted of it, without waiting the advice of James, his father-in-law, which, by his ambassador, he had asked[a]. In consequence of this he was crowned king of Bohemia, and at first met with great success. For Silesia, Moravia, Lusatia, and Austria had taken up arms against the emperor Ferdinand; as did likewise Bethlem Gabor, a prince of great credit at the Ottoman porte, valiant, courageous, and already master of the greatest part of Hungary.—But his success did not last long. On November 8, 1620, was the battle of Prague fought, which proved fatal to Frederick, and his brave Bohemians. His army was scattered and routed; himself and queen obliged to fly with precipitation from that country; and his people were subjected to all the insults and cruelties of an enraged conqueror, and a bigotted prince; and withal he was censured for having engaged in an affair, without probability of success, the consequence of which was like to be fatal to him. But this censure seems to have been ill founded. Things turned out very different from what might have been reasonably expected, and therefore though the elector Palatine was unfortunate, he was not to be deemed unwise.

"For who could have believed that the protestants of Germany would have abandoned him, they who un-

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 12.

to the great amazement of strangers, and

der the name of correspondents had engaged from the year 1609, to maintain liberty and the protestant religion in the empire? They who believed that the emperor was an enemy to both? They, in short, who having been consulted by Frederick, their chief, in the assembly held at Rottenburgh, Septem. 12, 1619, answered that he ought to accept the crown of Bohemia, not only as being a new dignity, but also as what was necessary for the public good of Germany, and that of their allies, and advised him to set out immediately for Bohemia? Who could have believed that France, which in those times exclaimed so loudly against princes that are too powerful, and solicited all Europe to make leagues against the house of Austria, would neglect so favourable an opportunity of weakening it? who would have believed that France would side with Ferdinand, against those who aimed at depriving him of a part of his power? who could have believed that Bethlem Gabor, after such fortunate beginnings, after all the reputation he had acquired, and all the interest he had with the Turk, would be of no service to the Palatine? Let us therefore say, that Frederick was deceived by a train of events so singular, that the most refined prudence could never have suspected it. Let us not believe those who pretend that the vanity of the duke of Bovillon, his uncle, joined with that of the electress, threw him into an imprudent undertaking. They say, that the duke wrote to his friends at Paris, that while the king of France was making knights at Fountainbleau, he was making kings in Germany. He might have said so; but as he was one of the ablest men of his age, it is not probable that he would have advised his nephew to accept a crown, if he ought in

the grief of his own subjects; who most

prudence to have refused it[a]." But let us return to our history.——No sooner had Frederick lost the battle of Prague, and with it the kingdom of Bohemia, but almost all his allies forsook him. He now found himself proscribed by the emperor, attacked by the Spaniards in his own country the Palatinate, and had at length the misfortune to become an exile in Holland, deprived of his patrimony, together with his regal and electoral dignities; and reduced to great necessities, from which it never was his fortune to get free. In his fate his wife and children were involved, and consequently he was an object of great compassion.——Let us now see how his father-in-law behaved towards him in these circumstances. No sooner had Frederick accepted the crown of Bohemia, but he shewed his dislike of it, and would never suffer the title of king to be given him in his presence[b]. Yea, he ordered his ambassador, Sir Henry Wotton to make it known "to all princes, whom it might any way concern, that in the election of his son-in-law to the crown of Bohemia, he had no part by any precedent counsel or practice[c]." And in pursuance of his instructions, the said Sir Henry Wotton assured the emperor, "that his majesty had not given the title of king to his son-in-law, or of queen to his daughter, in any letter either public or private; nor had permitted the same title, in any sermons within his kingdom[d]." Indeed he declared, that "though he was resolved to suspend his judgment about the differences between the emperor and the Bo-

[a] Bayle's Historical Discourse on the Life of Gustavus Adolphus at the end of the last edition of his dictionary, p. 678. [b] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 12. [c] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 496. [d] Id. p. 503.

readily and willingly would have assisted hemians, yet he found himself tied both by nature and by reason, not to leave the patrimonial inheritance of his own descendants, that is, neither the inferior, nor superior Palatinate in the hands of any alien usurper[a]." Accordingly when Spinola was about to march into the Palatinate with thirty thousand men, he sent one regiment thither under the command of Sir Horatio Vere, for its defence, who performed good service[b]. But even this he meanly apologized for to the emperor, and declared that "the troops sent towards the Palatinate, were meerly voluntaries, without his majesties contribution, and defensively intended, before any noise of the invasion[c]." After Frederick's misfortune before Prague, and when his own territories began to be seized, James sent the princes of the union thirty thousand pound to keep them in arms, but withal resolved at the same time to treat of peace[d]. In short, though an order of council was made for raising money by way of free gift, for the support of the Palatinate, and afterwards the parliament gave a supply for the recovery of it; and the people were disposed zealously to engage in its behalf; yet James contented himself with sending embassies to recover it when it was attacked on all sides; and weakly imagined that princes flushed with victory, would hearken to his intreaties, or persuasions. Doncaster, Wotton, Digby, Weston and others were sent from time to time, who though men of sense, and able negotiators, could prevail nothing: the Palatinate was taken while they were treating, and they had the mortification of finding themselves laugh-

[a] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 516.
[b] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 14.
[c] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 518.
[d] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 18.

them with all their power. Yea so strongly

ed at, and contemned, as well as their master who sent them.——That I have not exaggerated matters will appear from the following extracts from James's own letters. In a letter to the earl of Bristol, dated October 3, 1622, he writes thus: "There is none knows better than yourself how we have laboured, ever since the beginning of these unfortunate troubles of the empire, notwithstanding all opposition to the contrary, to merit well of our dear brother the king of Spain, and the whole house of Austria, by a long and lingering patience, grounded still upon his friendship, and promises that care should be had of our honor, and of our children, patrimony, and inheritance. We have acquainted you also, from time to time, since the beginning of the treaty of Bruxels, how crossly things there have proceeded, notwithstanding the fair professions made unto us, both by the king of Spain, the Infanta, and all his ministers, and the letters written by him unto the emperor, and them effectually, (at the least, as they endeavoured to make us believe.) But what fruits have we of these, other than dishonor and scorn? whilst we are treating, the town and castle of Heidelbergh taken by force, our garrison put to the sword, Manheim besieged, and all the hostility used that is within the power of an enemy[a]." And in a letter to the emperor Ferdinand, dated November 12, 1621, he complains "that whilst treaty was in hand, his son-in-law was wholly despoiled and robbed of his hereditary patrimony that remained unto him, excepting the lower Palatinate, which was all, says he, by commandment of your imperial majesty, taken and possessed by the

[a] Cabala, p. 259.

was this disposition to peace rooted within

duke of Bavaria, according as himself confessed, with strong hand and force of arms, and that for such reasons as are meerly new, and such as the like were never hitherto once heard of." He further represents unto him, "that notwithstanding it plainly appeared, by the answer given to his ambassador, that his Imperial majesty had caused the suspension of the bann or proscription in those countries, yet he permitted the taking of arms again in hand, whereby there had been raised a most cruel war, and most part of the country taken in by the Spaniards powerful strength[a]." And as James complained, so did his ambassadors likewise; "whilst things (says Sir Dudley Carleton to the duke of Buckingham, in a letter dated Dec. 13, 1623,) have been held sometimes in terms, always in talk of accommodation, the electoral is given to Bavaria by the emperor, and avowed by a congratulatory embassage from Bruxels: the upper Palatinate is settled in his possession, with some portion to Newburg, for his contentation and engagement. A principal part of the lower Palatinate is given to the elector of Mentz, with the consent of those of Bruxels, where he (was lately in person to obtain it) though they grossly dissemble it, and promises of parts of the rest are made to other princes[b]." And Sir Richard Weston, in a letter from Bruxels to Buckingham, dated Sept. 3, 1622, has the following expressions. "Notwithstanding his majesty hath followed them in all their desires, and the prince elector hath conformed himself to what was demanded; that the count Mansfelt, and duke of Brunswick, the pretended obstacles of the treaty, are now, with all

[a] Cabala, p. 260. [b] Id. p. 192.

him, that though he met with scorn, and derision from those with whom he treated about the restitution of the Palatinate, and

their forces removed; no face of an enemy in the Palatinate, but his majesty's power in the garrisons; all other places repossessed which Mansfelt had taken; no cause of continuing any war now, nor any cause of jealousy or fear, for the future, considering his majesty's fair and honourable offers; yet are they so far from a cessation, that they are fallen upon Heidelbergh, and either want the will or power to remove the siege. And all I can get, is two letters of intreaty from her highness to the chiefs of the emperor, to proceed no further; and after some eighteen days since, I made my proposition for the cessation, I have yet no answer; so that being able to raise no more doubts, they make use of delays. I have said, and done, and used all diligencies within my power to bring forth better effects, and can go no further; and therefore, I humbly beseech your lordship that I may have leave to return, when I shall hear that they will not remove the siege at Heidelbergh. For their pretending to restore all, when all is taken, is a poor comfort to me, and as little honour to his majesty: and how far they are to be believed in that, is to be examined, more exactly than by writing, by weighing, how the weak hopes given me here, agree with the strong assurances given by my lord Digby out of Spain[a]."———Thus was James treated, as he himself says, with scorn and dishonour; but yet he made no efforts to avenge himself or his family, till the breaking off the match with

[a] Cabala, p. 402.

found himself deceived by the emperor, Spaniards, and arch-dukes, he still went on to treat with them, and thereby rendered

Spain, when twelve regiments were rose, and put under the command of the gallant Mansfield: but these, by an unaccountable weakness or neglect, having had no passage stipulated for them through France or Holland, through famine and pestilence mouldered away, and the design of recovering the Palatinate came to nothing[a].——Thus did James suffer his son-in-law, his daughter, and his grandchildren to be driven out from their dominions, without affording them that relief, and assistance which were necessary. Strange conduct! unheard of behaviour! but James dreaded war, and would submit to any thing rather than engage in it. For even the breaking off the Spanish match, and the raising the regiments under the command of Mansfield, were things greatly displeasing to him, and brought about contrary to his inclinations by his son, and his great favourite Buckingham[b]. And, then he was outwitted by the Spaniards, who made him believe that notwithstanding Frederick was overcome, and his affairs in a very desperate condition, yet he need but signify his pleasure about his restitution, and he should be obeyed[c]. Nor did James in the least suspect, but that upon the conclusion of the marriage of his son with the Infanta of Spain, the restitution of the Palatinate would follow, though he had made no terms in that treaty about it[d]. "The count de Gondomor, the Spanish ambassador, who had an absolute ascendant over him, gave him to understand, that the king of

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 154. [b] See Clarendon, vol. I. p. 24.
[c] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 18. [d] Id. p. 91.

the affairs of the unfortunate Frederick his son-in-law desperate and deplorable.

Nor was his conduct better in other

Spain being on the point of giving his daughter to the prince of Wales," (which, by the way, he never intended, though his successor probably was sincere in the treaty for the match) "would look on the interest of the Palatine prince as his own, and not suffer him to lose the Palatinate, that even though the emperor should be master of that country, there was a good way for both sides to come off with honor; for, by favour of the marriage, the emperor might make a present of the Palatinate to the Infanta, who would give it the prince her husband, and then the prince might restore it to his brother-in-law. James took all this to be gospel, as if indeed he had had a positive promise from the emperor and the king of Spain, that every thing should be done as the ambassador had proposed. This was the reason he was more and more intoxicated with the notion that the best way to save the Palatinate, was to live in a good understanding with the court of Vienna, and Madrid[a]." In short, such was the management of Gondomor in this affair, and such the weakness of James, that in a letter to the duke of Lerma, we find the ambassador boasting, "that he had lulled king James so fast asleep, that he hoped neither the cries of his daughter nor her children, nor the repeated solicitations of his parliament and subjects in their behalf should be able to awaken him[b]."

I shall only add that the Palatine family remained in exile till the year 1648, when, by the treaty of Munster, they were restored to the best part of their dominions, without having received any considerable

[a] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 28. [b] Acta Regia, p. 549.

affairs. He tamely suffered the British flag[59] to be affronted, and his merchants' ships to be taken by the Dutch, when

helps from the royal house to which they were so nearly allied, during all their misfortunes.

[59] He tamely suffered the British flag to be affronted, &c.] Let us hear Weldon. "The earl of Hertford, who was sent ambassador to the arch-duke, was conveyed over in one of the king's ships, by sir William Monson. In whose passage a Dutch man of war coming by that ship, would not vaile, as the manner was, acknowledging by that our sovereignty over the sea. Sir William Monson gave him a shot to instruct him in manners; but instead of learning, he taught him by returning another, he acknowledged no such sovereignty. This was the very first indignity and affront ever offered to the royal ships of England, which since have been most frequent. Sir William Monson desired my lord of Hertford to go into the hold, and he would instruct him by stripes that refused to be taught by fair means: but the earl charged him on his allegiance first to land him, on whom he was appointed to attend. So to his great regret, he was forced to endure that indignity; for which I have often heard him wish he had been hanged, rather than live that unfortunate commander of a king's ship, to be chronicled for the first that ever endured that affront, although it was not in his power to have helped it[a]."——But, says an admirable writer, speaking of this affair, "two things are certain; one that queen Elizabeth would have severely punished her officer, and have exacted ample reparation from the States-general; the other, that king James did neither. This

[a] Weldon's Court of King James, p. 45.

trading to the ports of Spain or Flanders, though their own, at the same time, did

commonwealth had been raised by queen Elizabeth, and was still in want of the support of England. The sovereignty of her state had not been yet acknowledged by any of the powers of Europe. How much the pacific temper of James was capable of bearing, had not yet become so apparent as he made it in the course of his reign. From all which it is easy to collect that if he had demanded satisfaction, he must and would have received it. But the good prince was afraid, where no fear was, and bore dishonourably what he might have resented safely; nay, what he ought to have resented in any circumstances, and at any hazard. We are not to wonder if so poor a conduct as this, soon brought king James into contempt, mingled with indignation, amongst a people eagerly bent on commerce, and in whom high notions of honour and a gallant spirit had been infused, by the example of queen Elizabeth, and encouraged during the whole course of a long reign[a]."

Though what I have related from Weldon is probably true, yet it is but justice due to the reader to inform him, that Sir William Monson himself, in his naval tracts, says nothing of striking or not striking the flag; but confesses that an affront was offered by two Dutch men of war. He adds, that he sent for the captains aboard his ship; that he threatened to right himself upon them; but that he dismissed them at the entreaty of my lord Hertford, on their excusing themselves, and promising to punish the offenders. How severely these offenders were punished, may be collected from hence. One of these captains, says Sir William Monson, was he, who since that time committed

[a] Oldcastle's Remarks on the History of England, p. 240.

it with impunity, and he contented himself with remonstrating, when he ought to

a foul murder upon his majesty's subjects in Ireland, that were under protection[a]."—But for the honour of the English nation let it be observed, that till the disposition of James was known by his subjects, the commanders of our ships acted very differently. For on his accession to the throne, "the duke of Sully being chosen by Henry the Great of France, for an extraordinary embassy into England, embarked at Calais in a French ship, with the French flag on the main topmast; but no sooner was he in the channel, than meeting with a yatch which came to receive him, the commander of it commanded the French ship to strike. The duke thinking his quality would secure him from such an affront, refused it boldly; but his refusal being answered with three cannon, shot with bullets, which piercing his ship, pierced the heart of the French, force constrained him to do, what reason ought to have secured him from, and whatever complaints he could make, he could get no other reason from the English captain, than that as his duty obliged him to honor his quality of ambassador, it obliged him also to compel others to pay that respect to his master's flag, which was due to the sovereign of the sea[b]." Thus speaks the famous cardinal Richlieu; and Sully himself, though he tells the story somewhat differently, owns that the English commander fired on the French, and obliged him to take down his flag[c]. It is pity

[a] Oldcastle's Remarks, p. 239, in the note. [b] Cardinal Richlieu's Political Will and Testament, part 2d. p. 82. 8vo. Lond. 1695. [c] Sully's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 174—178. It is surprising that this gallant action has been overlooked by our historians, and even by Burchet, in his naval history.

have required in a proper manner satisfaction. But notwithstanding this treat-

the name of this English captain has not been handed down to posterity.——I have said in the text that James suffered not only the British flag to be affronted, but his merchant ships to be taken by the Dutch, when trading to the ports of Spain or Flanders. In order to understand this, it is necessary to observe, that though James had made a peace with the Spaniards, the war was continued several years after between them and the Hollanders. Such therefore of the English ships as were found carrying goods to the Spaniards and trading with them, were frequently seized under a pretence of their being contraband; when they themselves connived at their own subjects doing the same; and consequently were guilty of the greatest insults. Here follow some of my authorities. Lord Cranborne [Cecyle] in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Oct. 23, 1604, tells him, "we are credibly informed, that the States have not only sent new orders to their men of war on the coast of Flanders, to impeach our trade to the arch-dukes ports by all means possible, but also to burn all such ships as they shall take of foreign princes. And withal are advertised, that many of their own people are daily resorting (under colour of private licences) to the said ports with all kind of victuals and commodities. And that these be no vain reports, their daily practice maketh demonstration; for on Monday last was seven-night, five of their ships, laden with wine and salt, were seen peaceably to go into Newport, their men of war riding before the harbour; and since likewise, his majesty's admiral of the narrow seas, being upon occasion of service upon

ment, he delivered up to them the cautionary towns[60], which they had deposited

the coast of Flanders, did see two Ulissingers put into Ostend, in sight of four of their men of war, who never offered them violence. Besides, there are fifteen small fly-boats and pinks of Holland laden with fish, gone this last spring-tide from Yarmouth towards Newport, with private licences as they gave out from the admiralty there[a]." And it appears from a variety of other letters of the same secretary to Winwood ambassador in Holland, that the Dutch ships never made any scruple of violating the neutrality of our ports, and treating even the English after such a manner as produced complaints infinite and unsupportable[b]. But all these things James bore with patience. He contented himself with remonstrating, and the Dutch understanding his humour, went on pillaging his subjects, often times their utter undoing[c]. To such a contemptible pass was this nation brought, in a short time, by the cowardice and pusillanimity of its sovereign!

[60] He delivered up to them the cautionary towns, &c.] In the year 1585, the States of the Netherlands were so greatly distressed by the Spaniards, that they renewed the applications they had formerly made to Elizabeth, to accept of the government of the United Provinces, and take them into her protection. The queen heard their deputies with favour, but at first refused both their protection and government. But Antwerp being taken by the prince of Parma, she soon afterwards, by the advice of her council, determined to assist them upon condition, among other things,

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 34. [b] Id. p. 277. [c] Id. p. 31.

in the hands of queen Elizabeth, for the

that Flushing and the castle of Rammekins in Walkerin, and the Isle of Brill, with the city and two forts, should be delivered into the queen's hands, for caution to pay back the money which she should expend on her forces, with which she might assist them during the war. It was moreover stipulated that the said places, after the money was repaid, should be restored again to the estates, and not delivered to the Spaniards, or any other enemy whatsoever. And also that the governor-general, and two Englishmen whom the queen should name, should be admitted into the council of the estates[a]. Accordingly Elizabeth sent the earl of Leicester to their aid, had the towns put into her hands, and her governor had a place among the States-general; whereby the English had a share in their councils, and they were kept in dependance on them. It is well known with what valour and conduct the Dutch resisted the Spaniards, and by the help of their auxiliaries, rose themselves to an admired and envied state of power, wealth and liberty. Spain weary with endeavouring to enslave them, was contented to treat with them as Free-States, and concluded a truce at Antwerp, March 29, 1609. It was then Holland lifted high its head, and looking on the cautionary towns as manacles and shackles on them, and fearing that James, whose meanness of spirit, connexion with the Spaniards, and great want of money were known, might one day deliver them into their enemies hands, as by them he had been requested; it was then, I say, that they determined if possible to get them from him, but upon the easiest terms. But

[a] Camden's Hist. of Q. Elizab. in compleat Hist. vol. II. p. 508.

money she had from time to time expended

this was not to be done in a hurry, they took time, and acted after such a manner, as fully accomplished their purpose. Though the towns were garrisoned by the English, the garrison was paid by the Dutch. In order therefore to bring about what they had in view, they ceased, all at once, to pay the English garrison, as by treaty they were obliged. Complaints were hereupon made to Sir Noel Caron, the Dutch ambassador at London. He excused it by the poverty of his masters; but withal insinuated as from himself, that if his Britannic majesty would desire it of the States, they, out of their regard for him, would take up money at high interest, and at once discharge the whole debt due to the crown of England. James listened to the proposal, and wrote about it to the States. By them Barnevelt was sent over, who negotiated so ably, that the king agreed to deliver up the towns for less than three millions of florins, in lieu of eight millions that were due, and about 18 years interest[a]. This was in May 1616. What the opinion of the world was on this affair, will appear from part of a letter from Sir Thomas Edmondes, written from Paris the same month, to Sir Ralph Winwood. In it he observes that the agreement for the restoring the cautionary towns, was thought strange by the principal persons in the French council, and particularly by Mons. Villeroy, who was of opinion, "that no consideration of utility ought to have made his majesty quit so great an interest as he had, for the retaining that people, by that means, in devotion to him; alledging for example that they here,

[a] See Rushworth, vol. I. p. 3. Cabala, p. 206. Acta Regia, p. 523. Coke, vol. I. p. 52. Howell's Letters, p. 16. Lond. 1715. 8vo.

on her troops in their service, for comparatively a trifling sum; and thereby lost the

without any such gages, do disburse yearly unto the States, the sum of 200,000 crowns, besides the absolute remittal of twelve or thirteen millions of livres, which they had disbursed for them in the last wars, only to draw that people to a like dependence on this state, as they do on his majesty. Adding also thereunto, that his majesty having ordinarily a greater power over the affections of that people, by the more natural love which they bare unto him, than they here can promise themselves, but only in respect of the present great faction, which they have made by the means of Mons. Barnevelt; it seemeth, by the course which we have now taken, that we absolutely quit the advantage to them. Sir Thomas then adds, that those who be his majesty's zealous servants, are sorry to see such a divorce, as they interpret it, between his majesty and that people: and after mentioning the negotiation for a match with Spain, he concludes with saying, I am sorry, that our necessities (if that be the cause) should carry us to these extremities[a]."——— Coke, and Burnet in speaking of this affair are guilty of a great mistake. The former supposes it was contrary to the seventh article of the peace made with the Spaniards in the year 1604[b]: And the other says, that James, after his coming to the crown of England, had entered into secret treaties with Spain, in order to the forcing the States to a peace; one article of which was, that if they were obstinate, he would deliver these places to the Spaniards[c]. But in fact there

[a] Birch's Negotiations of Sir Tho. Edmondes, p. 396. [b] Coke, vol. I. p. 53. [c] Burnet, vol. I. p. 17.

dependence those provinces before had on the English crown. Nor did the cruelties

is just nothing at all in this. The Spaniards, in making the treaty in 1604, insisted on having the cautionary towns delivered up to them, upon payment of the monies due from Holland. This was stiffly denied. Whereupon says secretary Cecyll, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated June 13, 1604, "They are descended to content themselves with some modification, which we have delivered in form of an article, (which may be seen in Coke;) wherein, as we do forbear (at their motion) to express that his majesty meaneth not to deliver the said cautionaries, to any other but the States united, so if the modification be well examined, you see it cannot any wise prejudice either his majesty, in honor, or the States in their interest in the towns; for as long as the election of good and reasonable conditions for the States pacification, is referred to his majesty's judgment, there can arise no inconveniency of it; it being always in his majesty's hands, to allow or disallow of that, which shall not be agreeable to the concurrency of his affairs with the united provinces [a]." Thus speaks lord Cecyll who had the chief hand in this treaty; and upon a careful perusal of the article referred to, I am persuaded he is right; and consequently the above-cited historians, as I said, are greatly mistaken.

The following remark was communicated to me by the reverend Dr. Birch. The account given by Burnet, vol. i. p. 15. Rapin, &c. of Barnevelt's coming over to England to negotiate the purchase of the cautionary towns from king James I. in 1616, is absolutely false;

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 23.

exercised by the Dutch on the English, at

as I cannot find the least trace of it in a series of MS. letters, which I have read, between Sir Dudley Carleton, who went over ambassador to Holland, in March 1615-16, and the two secretaries of state, Sir Ralph Winwood and Sir Thomas Lake. The former, Sir Ralph Winwood, in his letters from Whitehall to the ambassador, of the 10th of April 1616, mentions, that the lords had delivered their resolutions to the king, that it was more for his majesty's service, upon honourable conditions, to render up the towns, than still to retain them; and that his majesty had taken some days to advise of it. Sir Dudley Carleton, in his letter to Sir Rich. Winwood from the Hague, of May 3d, complains, that a matter of that great consequence (though "it had," says he, "the beginning, before my coming hither, yet since my arrival, hath had some subject of further treaty) is altogether managed by the minister of this state, (Sir Noel Caron) resident with his majesty, without my having any hand therein." The king's commission to the lords to treat with Sir Noel Caron concerning the surrender of the cautionary towns, is dated May 21, 1616, and that to Sir Horace Vere, to deliver up the Brill, on the 22d.—Sir R. Winwood, in a letter to Sir Dudley, from Greenwich, on the 23d of May, gives him a particular relation of the proceedings in this treaty, that some years before, during his employment in Holland, Sir Noel Caron, in the name of his superiors, made an overture to the king for the reddition of these towns, upon seasonable and honest composition; which being not hearkened unto, it lay asleep, until the month of December, 1615, at which time, Sir Noel being newly returned from his superiors, revived that motion with earnest instance,

Amboyna[61], and the depriving them of

and for that purpose expressly demanded audience of his majesty. It happened at the self-same time, that the governor of these towns delivered to Sir Ralph Winwood, to be exhibited to the lords, a complaint, that the garrison had not received their pay for many weeks: the danger whereof the lords taking into their consideration, the question was moved by a great counsellor of eminent place, whether it were not better for his majesty's service to render these towns, than still to hold them at so great a charge. Report being made to the king at the rising of the lords, that this question had been moved in council, he acquainted them with the instance of Sir Noel, and then gave them charge to advise and consult thereof, to deliver to him their judgment and resolutions; with which he, after the deliberations of ten or twelve days, concurred for the sale of the towns.

This account is absolutely inconsistent with the supposition of Barnevelt's journey to England, on the affair of the purchase.

Sir Thomas Lake mentions the result of the treaty, in a letter to Sir Dudley, from Greenwich, of the 28th of May, in these words:

"We have now determined of the return of the cautionary towns, a matter vulgarly ill taken here, and with many of the best. But necessity is of the council. I think your lordship will hear of it by those that have more hand in it than I."

[61] The cruelties exercised by the Dutch on the English at Amboyna, &c.] Amboyna is an island in the East-Indies, and is the principal place where nutmegs, mace, cinnamon, cloves and spice grow. In the year 1619, a treaty was concluded between James and the

their share of the spice trade, cause him to attempt the vindication of the rights of his

Dutch, with regard to the trade of the East-Indies, in consequence whereof, the English enjoyed part of the spice trade, and greatly enriched themselves. This made them envied by the Dutch, who were determined, if possible, to deprive them of the advantages they reaped. A plot therefore was pretended, in which the English, with the assistance of a few Japonese soldiers, were to seize on the fortress, and put the Dutch to the sword: whereupon they were seized and examined; but stiffly denying the fact, they were tortured most barbarously. This produced (what the rack almost always does produce) a confession; hereupon ten Englishmen, seven of whom were agents, factors, and assistants, were ordered to be executed, Feb. 1623, six Japonese, and three natives, who all uniformly denied their knowledge of the plot to the last moment. The Dutch account transmitted to the English East-India company, in vindication of this affair, admits that all the evidence they had was obtained by torture, and that those who suffered professed their innocency, a clear proof this that they were condemned wrongfully; for when men of different countries and interests are accused of joint conspiracy, the denial of every individual at the article of death, amounts with me to the clearest proof of their innocency. However, these executions so terrified the English, that they thought they could not safely abide in Amboyna; they departed thence, therefore, and the Dutch very honestly took their effects, to the value of 400,000 pounds. After this the neighbouring spice islands were seized by them, and the English wholly dispossessed of their factors and trade, to their incredi-

people, or punish those who had so vilely treated them.

ble loss and damage[a]. It may well be supposed, that an affair of this nature could not long remain a secret. The news reached England, and sufficient proof was made of the treachery and cruelty of the Dutch in it: and, no doubt, it was expected that reparation would be demanded and obtained. And had James made proper representations to the States-General, justice probably would have been done; for no state would openly have abetted such villanies. But he pocketed up the affront; submitted to the injury even without requiring satisfaction; and contented himself with barely telling the Dutch ambassador, "that he never heard, nor read, a more cruel and impious act, than that of Amboyna. But," added he, "I do forgive them, and I hope God will; but my son's son shall revenge this blood, and punish this horrid massacre[b]." Wretched must be the people who have a prince thus pusillanimous! What can they hope for from those about them, but oppression, insults and injuries? Princes owe to their subjects protection; if they afford it not, they have no reason to expect allegiance, nor should they murmur if it is refused.

By the way, we may observe that James was a false prophet; neither his son, nor his son's son, revenged this bloodshed at Amboyna, or punished this horrid massacre. But Cromwell, born to avenge the wrongs of the British nation, and restore her lost glory, effectually did it; for among the conditions on which he

[a] See the Hist. of the barbarous Cruelties committed by the Dutch in the East-Indies. 8vo. Lond. 1712. Coke, vol. I. p. 96. Wilson, p. 281. Burnet's Naval Hist. p. 369. fol. Lond. 1720. [b] Coke, vol. I. p. 97.

To all these instances, if we add his permitting his only son to go into Spain, to bring to a conclusion the match [62] with the

gave peace to the Dutch, in April, 1654, it was inserted, "that they should deliver up the island of Polerone, in the East-Indies, (which they had taken from the English in the time of king James, and usurped it ever since) into the hands of the English East-India company again; and pay a good sum of money [300,000] for the old barbarous violence, exercised so many years since at Amboyna; for which the two last kings could never obtain satisfaction and reparation [a]." It were to be wished all princes had the honor of their country so much at heart, as it appears from this, and many other instances, Cromwell had; then would their characters truly shine in history, and instead of the disagreeable task of censuring, writers would be emulous of pointing out their excellencies, and their fame would be as lasting as letters. Whereas most princes have been contented with the incense offered them by flatterers, and therefore have seldom endeavoured to procure that solid reputation, which alone results from great and benevolent actions; by which means their weaknesses or wickednesses fill up their annals, and cause their names to be treated with indignation and contempt.

[62] His permitting his only son to go into Spain, &c.] James had treated both with France and Spain, for a match with prince Charles, though he knew well the inconveniencies which would arise from his marrying a lady of a different religion; for in his Basilicon

[a] Clarendon's Hist. vol. VI. p. 489. and Tindal's Notes on Rapin, vol. II. p. 591.

Infanta, we shall perhaps be fully satisfied of the weakness of his conduct.

Doron, addressed to prince Henry, he has the following remarkable passage: "I would ratherest have you to marrie one that was fully of your own religion; her rank and other qualities being agreeable to your estate: for although to my great regrate, the number of any princes of power, and accounts professing our religion, be but very small; and that therefore this advice seems to be the more strait and difficile: yet ye have deeply to weigh, and consider upon these doubts, how ye and your wife can be of one flesh, and keep unitie betwixt you, being members of two opposite churches: disagreement in religion bringeth ever with it disagreement in manners; and the dissention betwixt your preachers and hers, will breed and foster a dissention among your subjects, taking their example from your family; besides the peril of the evil education of your children. Neither pride you that ye will be able to make her as ye please: that deceived Solomon the wisest king that ever was [a]." There is sense in this passage; and yet the writer of it never attempted to match either of his sons with a protestant princess. The eldest, prince Henry, he endeavoured to marry with a daughter of France or Savoy; the youngest, prince Charles, as I have just observed, with France or Spain. With France the negotiations were broke off for that purpose, and those with Spain commenced about the year 1616 [b]. But for several years the Spaniards had no other end in entertaining the negotiations, but to amuse James and

[a] K. Jam. Works, p. 172. [b] Birch's View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 398.

No wonder then that he was burlesqued,

hinder him from concerning himself in the business of Cleves, or effectually succouring the Palatinate. This appears plainly from the king of Spain's letter to Conde Olivares, dated Nov. 5, 1622[a]. However, it seems probable, that afterwards the Spaniards' intentions were sincere for the match, and that a short space of time would have completed it. For matters had been carried to such a length, and James had yielded to all their proposals so readily, that they could not well refuse to conclude it. This match was odious to the body of the English nation, and the parliament advised the breaking off the treaty[b]. But James gave them a severe reprimand for their advice, and determined not to comply with it. He longed for the Spanish gold, (two millions, but of what value appears not) which the Infanta was to bring with her, and was in hopes of getting the restitution of the Palatinate; and therefore proceeded with zeal and earnestness. ———While things were in this state, the prince, persuaded by Buckingham, had an inclination to see and woo his mistress. They opened it to the king, and he, after much opposition, being bullied into it by Steney[c], complied; to the amazement of the whole world. For it was an unparalleled thing to see "the only son of a king, the heir of the kingdom, hazard himself in such a long voyage, and carry himself rather as an hostage than a spouse, to a court of contrary maxims of religion and state, humbly to supplicate for a wife[d]." What was this but exposing him to the danger of imprisonment, the solicitations of Jesuits,

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p 71. [b] Id. p. 42. [c] See lord Clarendon, vol. I. p. 11—18. [d] Nam's Hist. of Venice, p. 196. fol. Lond. 1673.

ridiculed, and exposed abroad, by those

the importunities of the Romish clergy, and thereby exciting fears and terrors in the minds of the subject, and make them draw the worst conclusions possible? yea, what was this but to put it in the power of the Spaniards, to insist on what terms they thought fit, and cause him to execute them, they having the person of the prince thus in their power? And how weak and imprudent must it be, to take a step of this nature, without so much as communicating it to the council, and taking their advice on it? What was easily to be foreseen happened. "The change of his religion (prince Charles's) was much hoped for by the court of Spain, at this first coming thither. To perfect which, he was plied from time to time with many persuasive arguments, by many persons of great honor about the king: and many of the most learned priests and jesuits made their addresses to him, with such rhetorical orations, with such insinuating artifices, and subtile practices, as if they had a purpose rather to conquer him by kindness than by disputation.——The pope also addressed his lines unto the prince, extolling the piety of his predecessors, their zeal unto the catholic church, and to the head thereof the pope, inviting him by all the blandishments of art, to put himself upon following of their brave examples. Never a prince had a harder game to play, than prince Charles had now. He found himself under the power of the king of Spain, and knew that the whole business did depend on the pope's dispensation, with whom if he complied not in some handsome way, his expectation might be frustrate, and all the fruits of that long treaty would be suddenly blasted. He therefore writes unto the pope in such general terms, as seemed to give his holiness some

who observed his conduct; and that he

assurances of him: but being reduced into particulars, signified nothing else but some civil complements, mixt with some promises of his endeavours to make up the breaches in the church, and restore Christendom to an happy and desirable peace.——In England the king had as hard a game to play. For having left such a pawn in Spain, he was in a manner bound to his good behaviour, and of necessity to gratify the popish party in this kingdom with more than ordinary favour. He knew no marriage could be made without the pope's dispensation, and that the pope's dispensation could not be obtained, without indulging many graces to his catholic subjects. To smooth his way therefore to the point desired, he addressed several letters to the pope and cardinals, in which he gives him the title of most holy father[a]; and employs Gage as his agent in the court of Rome, to attend the business. At home he dischargeth all such priests and jesuits as had been formerly imprisoned; inhibiting all processes, and superseding all proceedings against recusants; and in a word, suspends the execution of such penal laws as were made against them.

"The people hereupon began to cry out generally of a toleration, and murmur in all places, as if he were resolved to grant it[b]." See here some of the effects of this weak expedition. The same prince who was for proving to the duke of Sully, that it was an offence against God, to give the title of holiness to any other than him, now very freely gives it to the pope[c]: and the man who had proclaimed aloud in his writing, that

[a] See a letter in Cabala, from James, to Gregory XVth, on this occasion, p. 412. [b] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 109, 111. [c] See note 34.

was spoken of most contemptuously, even by

the pope was anti-christ, now dignifies him with the title of most holy father. But James, I fancy, had forgot to blush, or he could hardly have thus publicly contradicted himself. However, fortune favoured prince Charles, in freeing him from the dangers into which this absurd and romantic voyage brought him. He got through France, though pursued after; and by the honor and generosity of the Spaniards, was permitted to return safe into England, where, by the instigation of Buckingham, he set himself in an abrupt and ungracious manner to break off the treaty of marriage, and earnestly endeavoured to engage the nation in a war with Spain, in which he was successful. But it is very observable, " that the reason given for breaking the match was not the true one. The restitution of the Palatinate had been very coolly pressed, not to say neglected, even whilst the prince was at Madrid; and yet after he came from thence, the king of Spain had signed an act by which he engaged for this restitution; so that on the principles on which this negotiation had been conducted, there seemed to have been no reason for breaking it off, given by Spain at the time, when it was broken[a]."—I will conclude this note by observing, that I do not remember any one writer, who has thought this journey of prince Charles into Spain prudent or justifiable, and consequently James could not but be blameworthy for permitting it. For he ought not to have been overcome by the solicitations of his son, much less by the rudeness and insolence of Buckingham. He should have adhered to what he could not but see to be for the interest of the State, and not

[a] Oldcastle's Remarks, p. 299.

his best friends, Maurice prince of Orange, and Henry the Great of France[63], as well

have given it up to please son or favourite. But he weakly gave way to them, and thereby exposed those most dear to him to the greatest dangers, and involved himself in such difficulties as exposed him to the ridicule of foreigners, and the contempt and ill-will of his subjects.

[63] He was ridiculed abroad, and contemptuously spoken of, by Maurice prince of Orange, and Henry the Great of France.] In Sir Walter Rawleigh's Ghost, written in 1620, [not 1622, as in the printed copy,] we find him introduced speaking to Gondomar, a friar and a jesuit, concerning the cruel representations that had been made of some of our princes, since the reformation, by the Spaniards in their pictures. And after having spoken of their painting Henry VIII. naked, without a grave, as if a heretic were not worthy to be buried; of the picture of Elizabeth, who was used as bad by them for the same reason, and because she was their mortal foe; after having spoken of these, he adds, "but to come to his majesty, (king James) what have you done by him even of late days? in one place you picture him with a scabbard without a sword; in another, with a sword so fast in his scabbard, that no body could draw it. In Brussels you made him in his hose doublet; his pockets hanging out, and never a penny in his purse. In Antwerp you painted the queen of Bohemia like an Irish Glibbin, her hair dishevelled, a child at her back, and in a mantle, with the king (her father) carrying the cradle for her[a]."——In the

[a] Sir Walter Rawleigh's Ghost, in Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, p. 223. Lond. 1732. 4to. and Wilson, p. 192. Oldys, p. 111.

as by his subjects, who could not without indignation behold the empty, insignificant

year 1609, was the truce concluded between Spain and the United Provinces; under the mediation of James and Henry the fourth of France. During the negotiations great complaints were made of the partiality of James towards the Spaniards, by the French ministers to their master; how justly I shall not determine. But in answer to a letter from one of his ambassadors, Henry writes, "that he knew James's ill intentions towards the States; and withal tells him, his carriage did not break his sleep; ending his letter with this word of contempt, rarely used among princes of that rank, I know his capacity and the inclinations of his subjects [a]." And the same Henry, when one called "James a second Solomon, replied, that he hoped he was not David the fidler's son [b]."——Nor had Maurice prince of Orange any better opinion of him, than the most christian king, as will appear from the following curious relation.

Sir Ralph Winwood being present in the council of State, where the sincerity of the courts of Madrid and Brussels in the treaty [for the truce] was questioned by the prince, told his highness, that, notwithstanding he thought it the interest of the republic to go on with it, because if the archdukes should at last refuse to comprehend the king of Spain, as well as themselves, an eternal dishonor would light upon them, and the two kings of England and France would have more reason to assist the States. The prince took him up briskly with these words, we will not go plead a process before

[a] Compleat Hist. vol. II. p. 683, in the notes. [b] Osborn, p. 511. see note [A].

figure the nation was reduced to by his ma-

the king's: and le Roi vostre maistre n'ose pas parler au Roi d'Espagne, (and the king your master dares not speak to the king of Spain.) Sir Ralph answered, Monsieur, vous avez tort: le Roi mon maitre a & resolution de se ressentir, & puissance de se revencher du Roi & prince qui se soit. (Sir, you are mistaken. The king, my master, hath both spirit to resent an injury, and power to avenge himself on any king or prince that shall offer it.) The prince replied, Comment s'est-il ressenti de la trahison du poudre? (How did he resent the gun-powder plot?) Sir Ralph rejoined, Comment scavez-vous, qui le roi d'Espagne s'y soit mele? (How do you know that the king of Spain had any hand in that affair?) Owen en à été. (Owen had) said the prince, Lequel on a demandé; & le Comte de Tyrone est soutenu par le roi d'Espagne. (Whom they have in vain required the king of Spain to deliver up; and the earl of Tyrone it is notorious is supported by him.) Sir Ralph replied, Quant à Owen, ce n'est pas a vous, a qui le roi mon maistre en rendra conte: & pour Tyrone, tout le monde scait qu'il est à Rome, & non pas en Espagne. (As for Owen, his majesty is not accountable to you for his behaviour in regard of him; and for Tyrone, all the world knows he is at Rome, and not in Spain.) Owen[a], here spoken of by the prince, had been demanded of the archdukes and the king of Spain, to be delivered up by Sir Thomas Edmondes, being charged with being privy to the gunpowder plot; and Tyrone, who had fled out of Ireland, upon account of his attempting a rebellion, had been asked of them likewise, but both unsuccessfully. In-

[a] Birch's View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 286.

nagement, and the scoffs and jeers whereindeed they were both caressed by the Spaniards; and Tyrone in particular, though he resided at Rome, as Winwood said, had a pension of six hundred crowns a month from the king of Spain, and therefore the interest of James was justly deemed insignificant at the Spanish court, by prince Maurice[a]. It is true, upon complaint of the English court, prince Maurice, in a very respectful letter, endeavoured to mollify James's anger; and afterwards, in a second letter, he acknowledged his offence, and cleared himself in the best manner he could, from any malicious intention to impeach his majesty's service, or asperse his character. But it is easy enough to see, that his apologies arose from the situation of his affairs, and that what in warmth he had spoken, he indeed thought.—Let us then conclude, that James's best friends, as I observed in the text, spoke most contemptuously of him; for such Henry and Maurice were.—If we would know further in what esteem James was with his neighbours, the following epigram made in France will, in some measure, perhaps satisfy us.

> "Tandis qu' Elizabeth fut Roy,
> L'Anglois fut d'Espagne l'effroy.
> Maintenant, devise et caquette,
> Regi par la Reine Jaquette."

That is literally in English,

> Whilst Elizabeth was king,
> The English were of Spain the terror.
> But now governed by Queen Jaquet,
> They only talk and prattle.

Or, if the reader likes it better in rhyme, it is given in English, thus:

[a] See Birch's Negotiations, p. 249, 275.

with they were insulted by their neighbours. But however weak and pusillani-

> While Elizabeth was England's King,
> That dreadful name through Spain did ring.
> How alter'd is the case,——ad sa' me!
> These jugling days of gude Queen Jamie [a]!

And that it may not be imagined that libellers and satyrists only contemned James, and represented him in a more ridiculous light than they ought, I will add, that the grave and knowing duke of Sully tells us, that Henry, in derision, called James captain of arts and clerk of arms [b]; and that he himself, and his brother, had spoken in terms not very respectful of him.

Nor did his own people come behind in ridiculing and censuring his conduct. "They mouthed out that Great Britain was become less than little England; that they had lost strength by changing sexes, and that he was no king, but a fidler's son, otherwise he would not suffer such disorders at home, and so much dishonor abroad.———And they say further, why should he assume to himself the title of defender of the faith, that suffers the protestants of Germany and France to be extirpated. That he might almost have purchased such a country as the Palatinate, with the money spent on ambassages; and that his promising the French protestants assistance (by their agents that interceded for them) made them the more resolute, and confident to their ruin: So that they might well call England the land of promise. And all that he got by his lip-labour assistance from the French king was, that his ambassador, Sir Edward Herbert, was snapt up by

[a] Rapin, vol. II. p. 236. and Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, p. 324.
[b] Sully's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 209. Edict of Nantz, vol. I. p. 452.

mous James's conduct was abroad, at home he behaved very haughtily. He valued

Luynes the young constable, and favourite there, with what hath your master to do with us and our business? Whereas the English fleets, the glory of the world, (if employed) would have taught the French pride to know, that a looker-on sees more than the gamester, and he that strikes with passion, will many times thank them that take him off by friendly admonition: such discourses as these flew up and down from lip to lip, that it was almost treason to hear, much more to speak [a]."—How weakly, how imprudently must a prince have behaved, to have drawn on himself such bitter reflections and cutting sarcasms, both at home and abroad? How mean a figure must he have made, and with what contempt must his promises and threatenings be received? It could not be ill-will, it could not be malice, or the love of slander alone, which could bring on a regal character so much contempt when living: there must have been foolish wretched management, as we have seen there was, to render it passable. But of all things, princes should dread falling into contempt: seeing that thereby their reputation, and consequently their power ceases, and they are rendered incapable of executing any great design. For, as Cardinal Richlieu has well observed, "reputation is the more necessary in princes, in that those we have a good opinion of, do more by their bare words, than those who are not esteemed with armies. They are obliged to value it beyond life; and they ought sooner to venture their fortune and grandeur, than to suffer the least breach to be made in the same, since it is

[a] Wilson, p. 190.

himself much on his hereditary right, and lineal descent [64], to the crown, and talked

most certain that the least diminution a prince receives, though never so slight, is the step which is of most dangerous consequence for his ruin. In consideration of which I declare freely, that princes ought never to esteem any profit advantageous, when it reflects the least upon their honour; and they are either blinded or insensible to their true interests, if they receive any of this nature. And indeed history teaches us, that in all times and in all states, princes of great reputation are always happier than those, who being inferior to them in that point, have surpassed them in force and riches, and in all other power[a]." Pity it is but princes knew what was said of them! If they had any thirst after fame, any desire of real glory, it would excite them to direct their actions to the good of the public, and it would make them weigh and consider things so, as that their resolutions might appear to be the result of prudence and discretion. If they will not act thus, but blindly follow their own whims and humours, or submit to be led by weak, ignorant, self-seeking men, as was the case of James, they may depend on it, that though flattery mounts up their imaginary excellencies to the clouds, and represents them as demi-gods for power and wisdom, standers by will laugh at them, and posterity expose and condemn them.

[64] He valued himself much on his hereditary right and lineal descent.] In his first speech to the parliament, March 19, 1603, he tells them, that the first reason of his calling them together was, "that they

[a] Richlieu's Political Testament, part 2d. p. 46.

of it in most pompous terms, though nothing could be more absurd and chimerical.

might with their own ears hear him deliver unto them the assurance of his thankfulness, for their so joyful and general applause, to the declaring and receiving of him in that seat, which God, by his birth-right and lineal descent, had in the fulness of time provided for him[a]." And in other parts of the same speech, he speaks of his lineal descent out of the "loins of Henry the seventh;" and of his being "lineally descended of both the crowns[b]" (of England and Scotland.) One should have thought an English parliament should have stared at hearing such an unusual language from the throne. But such was the complaisance they had for their new king, and so willing were they to make their court to him, that they spoke in like terms with him, and echoed back, not as has sometimes been done in an address, but in an act of parliament, his words and sentiments on this subject. For in the first act of parliament passed in this reign, intitled a "most joyful and just recognition of the immediate, lawful and undoubted succession, descent and right of the crown," we find the following expressions: "Your majesty's royal person, who is lineally, rightfully, and lawfully descended of the body of the most excellent lady Margaret, eldest daughter of the most renowned king Henry the seventh, and they therein desire it may be published and declared in the high court of parliament, and enacted by authority of the same, that they (being bounden thereunto both by the laws of God and man) do recognize and acknowledge that immediately upon the dissolution and decease of Elizabeth, late queen of

[a] King James's Works, p. 485. [b] Id p. 487, 488.

In consequence hereof he entertained

England, the imperial crown of the realm of England, and of all the kingdoms, dominions and rights belonging to the same did by inherent birthright, and lawful and undoubted succession, descend and come unto his most excellent majesty, as being lineally, justly, and lawfully, next and sole heir of the blood royal of this realm[a]." This was complaisance indeed! And this, together with their ascribing to him in the same act, "the rarest gifts of mind and body," and acknowledging "his great wisdom, knowledge, experience, and dexterity," could hardly help rivetting in his mind his absurd opinions, and high self-estimation.

I call his notions of hereditary right and lineal descent, absurd. For I know of no right that any person has to succeed another in wearing a crown, but what the laws give him; if he is by law appointed the next heir, his right to succeed is built upon the most stable foundation. But the laws relating to the succession may be changed, according as the exigencies of the state and the public good require; and if, by such a change, any person or family is set aside from succeeding, the right they might before have had vanishes, and without usurpation cannot take place. When that political law (says a justly admired writer) which has established in "the kingdom a certain order of succession, becomes destructive to the body politic for whose sake it was established, there is not the least room to doubt but another political law may be made to change this order; and so far would this law be from opposing the first, it would in the main be entirely conformable to it, since both would depend on this principle, that,

[a] Vide Stat. Anno Primo Jacobi c. 1. per totum.

high notions of the prerogative, and car-

the safety of the people is the supream law[a]."—And indeed this hereditary right to the crown, here boasted of by James, was "a meer chimera; contradicted by the general tenor of custom from the Norman invasion to his time; by the declared sense of his immediate predecessors; by many solemn proceedings of parliament, and by the express terms of law,——Two families (for the race of Plantagenet was grafted on the Norman race, and they may be reckoned properly as one) had furnished, indeed, all our kings; but this constituted no hereditary right. When a prince of the royal family, but in a degree remote from the succession, comes to the crown, in prejudice to the next heir, hereditary right is violated, as really as it would be if an absolute stranger to this family succeeded. Such a prince may have another, and we think a better right, that for instance, which is derived from a settlement of the crown, made by the authority of parliament; but to say he hath an hereditary right, is the grossest abuse of words imaginable. This we think so plain, that we should be ashamed to go about to prove it.—Our kings of the Norman race were so far from succeeding as next heirs to one another, and in a regular course of descent, that no instance can be produced of the next heirs succeeding, which is not preceded and followed by instances of the next heirs being set aside.——Thus Edward the first succeeded his father Henry the third; but his father Henry the third, and his grandfather John, had both been raised to the throne, in plain defiance of hereditary right: the right of Arthur, nephew to John, and the right of Arthur's sister, cou-

[a] Spirit of Laws, vol. II. p. 218. Lond. 1750.

sin-german to Henry.———Edward the second succeeded his father Edward the first; but Edward the third deposed Edward the second; the parliament renounced all allegiance to him; and Edward the third held the crown by a parliamentary title, as much as William the third.———If we go up higher than this æra, or descend lower, we shall find the examples uniform. Examples, sufficient to countenance this pretension of hereditary right to the crown of England, are no where to be found.——The British race began in Henry the seventh; and from him alone king James derived that right, which he asserted in such pompous terms. Now surely, if ever any prince came to the crown without the least colour of hereditary right, it was Henry the seventh. He had no pretence to it, even as heir to the house of Lancaster. His wife might have some as heir of the house of York; but the title of his wife had no regard paid to it either by him or the parliament, in making this new settlement. He gained the crown by the good will of the people. He kept it by the confirmation of parliament, and by his own ability. The notional union of the two roses was a much better expedient for quiet than foundation of right. It took place in Henry the eighth; it was continued in his successors; and this nation was willing it should continue in James and his family. But neither Henry the eighth, nor his son Edward the sixth, who might have done so with much better grace, laid the same stress on hereditary right, as king James did. One of them had recourse to parliament on every occasion, where the succession to the crown was concerned; and the other made no scruple of giving the crown by will to his cousin, in prejudice of his sisters right. This right, however, such as it was, prevailed; but the authority of parliament was called in aid by

Mary, to remove the objection of illegitimacy, which lay against it. Elizabeth had so little concern about hereditary right, that she neither held, nor desired to hold her crown by any other tenure than the statute of the 35 of her father's reign. In the 13th of her own reign she declared it by law high treason, during her life, and a Præmunire, after her decease, to deny the power of parliament, in limiting and binding the descent and inheritance of the crown, or the claims to it; and whatever private motives there were for putting to death Mary, queen of Scotland, her claiming a right, in opposition to an act of parliament, was the foundation of the public proceedings against her.

"Such examples as we have quoted, ought to have some weight with king James. A prince who had worn the crown of Scotland, under so many restraints, and in so great penury, might have contented himself, one would think, to hold that of England, whose pensioner he had been, by the same tenure, and to establish his authority on the same principles, as had contented the best and greatest of his Predecessors; but his designs were as bad as those of the very worst princes, who went before him[2]." The good sense and unanswerable reasoning in this quotation will make ample amends for the length of it, and therefore needs no apology. But it is amazing to consider, that, notwithstanding such facts and reasonings, there should yet be found people weak enough to hold this doctrine of hereditary right, a doctrine absurd in itself, and big with mischief. Did men but think and consider, did they weigh and examine, were they honest and impartial, they soon would see its folly and ridicule it. But

[2] Oldcastle's Remarks, p. 241. See also the Brief History of the Succession, in the State Tracts, relating to the times of Charles the 2d. and Sir John Hawles's Speech at the Trial of Sacheverel.

ried the doctrine of the regal power[65], to

such is the laziness of mankind, that they are at all times inclined more to believe on trust, than to take the pains to consider; and therefore run into the most whimsical and ridiculous opinions. Princes may think it their interest to have such a doctrine as this inculcated; but the teachers of it ought to be looked upon as the foes of mankind, and had in abhorrence by those to whom liberty and virtue are amiable.

[65] He entertained high notions of the prerogative, and carried the doctrine of the regal power to a very great pitch.] James, as I have observed, was bred up under Buchanan, whose hatred of tyranny is well known, and who, like a very honest man, endeavoured to inspire his pupil with a detestation of it; and he seemed to have had some hopes, that his labours would not have been wholly vain. For in the conclusion of his short dedication to James, of his *Baptistes, sive calumni tragœdia,* among his poetical works, there are the following expressions:——" Illud autem peculiarius ad te videri potest spectare, quod tyrannorum cruciatus, & cum florere maxime videntur, miserias dilucide exponat. Quod te nunc intelligere non conducibile modo, sed etiam necessarium existimo: ut mature odisse incipias, quod tibi semper est fugiendum. Volo etiam hunc libellum apud posteros testem fore, si quid aliquando pravis consultoribus impulsus vel regni licentia rectam educationem superante secus committas, non præceptoribus, sed tibi, qui eis recte monentibus non sis obsecutus, id vitio vertendum esse. Det Dominus meliora, & quod est apud tuum Salustium, tibi bene facere ex consuetudine in naturam vertat. Quod equidem cum multis & spero, & opto. Sterlino, ad Calend. Novembris, 1576." i. e. " But this more especially

a pitch was amazingly great, and bordering

seems to belong to you, which explains the torments and miseries of tyrants, even when they seem to be in the most flourishing state, which I esteem not only advantageous, but even necessary for you now to understand: that you may begin early to hate, what you should always avoid. I desire also that this book may be a witness to posterity, that if at any time you act otherwise, by the influence of wicked counsellors, or the wantonness of power getting the better of education, you may impute it not to your preceptors, but to yourself that slighted their good advice.——God grant you a better fate, and (as your favourite Sallust has it) render beneficence natural to you by custom. Which I sincerely wish, and hope with many others."

James was little more than ten years of age when this was written to him. Two years afterwards Buchanan dedicated his celebrated piece, intitled, *De jure Regni apud Scotos,* to James, in which he tells him, " that he thought good to publish it, that it might be a standing witness of his affection towards him, and admonish him of his duty towards his subjects. Now many things, adds he, persuaded me that this my endeavour should not be in vain: especially your age not yet corrupted by prave opinions, and inclination far above your years for undertaking all heroical and noble attempts, spontaneously making haste thereunto; and not only your promptitude in obeying your instructors and governors, but all such as give you sound admonition; and your judgment and diligence in examining affairs, so that no man's authority can have much weight with you, unless it be confirmed by probable reason. I do perceive also that you by a certain natural instinct do so much abhor flattery, which is

on impiety. Nor could he with any pa-

the nurse of tyranny, and a most grievous plague of a kingdom; so as you do hate the court solecisms and barbarisms, no less than those that seem to censure all elegancy, do love and affect such things, and every where in discourse spread abroad, as the sauce thereof those titles of majesty, highness, and many other unsavoury compellations. Now albeit your good natural disposition, and sound instructions, wherein you have been principled, may at present draw you away from falling into this error, yet I am forced to be something jealous of you, lest bad company, the fawning foster-mother of all vices, draw aside your soft and tender mind into the worst part; especially seeing I am not ignorant, how easily our other senses yield to seduction. This book therefore I have sent unto you, to be not only your monitor, but also an importunate and bold exactor which, in this your flexible and tender years, may conduct you in safety from the rocks of flattery, and not only may admonish you, but also keep you in the way you are once entered into: and if at any time you deviate, it may reprehend and draw you back, the which if you obey, you shall for yourself and for all your subjects, acquire tranquillity and peace in this life, and eternal glory in the life to come. Farewel, from Sterveling, Jan. 10, 1579[a]."

I have been forced to give this in the words of a translation, for want of an opportunity of turning to the original: which the good-natured reader, I hope, will pardon. In these dedications we may see the endeavours and hopes of Buchanan, which I have just

[a] Dedication of Buchanan de jure regni apud Scotos, in English. 4to. Lond. 1689.

tience bear that any should assert its being

mentioned, of inspiring his pupil with a detestation of tyranny. But his hopes were ill-founded, his endeavours were ineffectual. James hated the man who counselled him, and spoke a doctrine directly contrary unto that taught by him[a]. What he writ on this subject when in Scotland, we have before mentioned[b]. He there inculcated the doctrine of tyranny, and in England he continued to avow it, and that even before the parliament itself. In his speech to the lords and commons at Whitehall, Anno 1609, we have the following passage: "Kings are justly called Gods, for that they exercise a manner or resemblance of divine power upon earth: for if you will consider the attributes of God, you shall see how they agree in the person of a king. God hath power to create or destroy, make or unmake at his pleasure, to give life or send death, to judge all, and to be judged, nor accomptable to none; to raise low things, and to make high things low at his pleasure, and to God are both soul and body due: and the like power have kings: they make and unmake their subjects; they have power of raising, and casting down; of life and of death; judges over all their subjects, and in all causes; and yet accomptable to none but God only. They have power to exalt low things, and abase high things, and make of their subjects like men at chess; a pawne to take a bishop or a knight, and to cry up or down any of their subjects, as they do their money. And to the king is due both the affection of the soul, and the service of the body of his subjects[c]." And in the same speech are the following words: "I conclude then this point touching the

[a] See note 2. [b] In note 41. [c] K. James's Works, p. 529.

liable to be contradicted or controuled. He treated his parliaments in many cases most

power of kings, with this axiom of divinity, that as to dispute what God may do, is blasphemie; but *quid vult Deus*, that divines may lawfully and do ordinarily dispute and discusse; for to dispute a *posse ad esse* is both against logicke and divinitie: so is it sedition in subjects to dispute what a king may do in the height of his power[a]." These passages shall suffice to shew James's notions of the regal power; their opposition to those of his preceptor; and that lord Bolingbroke was very much mistaken in saying that "James retailed the scraps of Buchanan[b]." I thought to have concluded this note here, but I find it proper to add that James had the utmost indignation against those who held that princes were accountable, or controulable. This appeared from his citing a preacher before him from Oxford, who had asserted that the inferior magistrate had a lawful power to order and correct the king if he did amiss; and who for the illustration of his doctrine, had used that speech of Trajan's unto the captain of his guard; *Accipe hunc gladium, quem pro me si bene imperavero distringes; sin minus contra me; i. e.* receive this sword, which I would have thee use for my defence if I govern well; but if I rule the empire ill, to be turned against me. The preacher of this doctrine being strictly examined by the king concerning it, laid the blame on Pareus, who in his commentary on the Romans, had positively delivered all which he had vented in his sermon, even to that very saying of the emperor Trajan. Whereupon the king,

[a] K. James's Works, p. 531. [b] Letters on the Spirit of Patriotism, p. 216.

contemptuously[66] both by words and actions; giving himself extraordinary airs of

though he dismissed the preacher, on account of his youth, and the authority he had produced, gave order to have the book of Pareus burnt in Oxford, London and Cambridge; which was done accordingly[a]. So high was James's opinion of regal power, so ill could he bear opposition to it, though in a foreigner, and one with whom he had nothing to do!

[66] He treated his parliaments in many cases most contemptuously] Here follow my proofs. In his speech to the parliament in 1605, speaking of the house of commons, he tells them, that "that was not a place for every rash and hair-brained fellow to propose new laws of his own invention." That "they should be warie not to propose any bitter or seditious laws, which could produce nothing but grudges and discontents between the prince and his people; and that it was no place for particular men to utter their private conceits, nor for satisfaction of their curiosities, and least of all to make shew of their eloquence, by tyning the time with long studied and eloquent orations[b]." And he adds just afterwards, "that men should be ashamed to make shew of the quickness of their wits here, either in taunting, scoffing, or detracting the prince or state in any point, or yet in breaking jests upon their fellows, for which the ordinaries or alehouses are fitter places, than this honourable and high court of parliament."

In his speech to the parliament at Whitehall, in the year 1609, he "wishes the commons to avoid three things in matters of grievances.

[a] Heylin's Life of Laud, p. 95. [b] K. James's Works, p. 506, 507.

wisdom and authority, and undervaluing

"First," says he, "that you do not meddle with the main points of government; that is my craft: *tractent fabrilia fabri*; to meddle with that were to lesson me: I am now an old king; for six and thirty years have I governed in Scotland personally, and now have I accomplished my apprenticeship of seven years here; and seven years is a great time for a king's experience in government. Therefore there would be too many Phormios to teach Hannibal: I must not be taught my office.

"Secondly, I would not have you meddle with such antient rights of mine, as I have received from my predecessors, possessing them, *more majorum:* such things I would be sorrie should be accounted for grievances.

"And lastly, I pray you to beware to exhibit for grievance, any thing that is established by a settled law, and whereunto (as you have already had a proof) you know I will never give a plausible answer: for it is an undutiful part in subjects to press their king, wherein they know before-hand he will refuse them[a]."

Had James stopped here he might have been excused. Elizabeth had set him an example of directing the commons to be cautious in making use of their liberty of speech; and they complained not of it[b]. But he went farther. For in the year 1621, the commons having drawn up a petition and remonstrance to the king, concerning the danger of the protestant religion at home and abroad, and advised him to aid the protestants in the wars in which they were engaged;

[a] K. James's Works, p. 537. [b] See Heywood Townshend's Historical Collections, p. 37, 53, 63. fol. Lond. 1680.

their power, skill and capacity. And not

break with the king of Spain, and marry his son to a princess of the reformed religion, with some other things: the commons having drawn up this petition and remonstrance, and it coming to the king's ears that they were about to present it, the following letter was written by him to the speaker, from Newmarket.

"MR. SPEAKER,

"We have heard, by divers reports, to our great grief, that our distance from the houses of parliament caused by our indisposition of health, hath emboldned some fiery and popular spirits of some of the house of commons, to argue and debate publickly of the matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonor, and breach of prerogative royal. These are therefore to command you, to make known, in our name, unto the house, that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with any thing concerning our government, or deep matters of state, and namely not to deal with our dearest son's match with the daughter of Spain, nor to touch the honour of that king, or any other our friends and confederates: and also not to meddle with any man's particulars, which have their due motion in our ordinary courts of justice. And whereas we hear, that they have sent a message to Sir Edward Sandys, to know the reasons of his late restraint, you shall in our name resolve them, that it was not for any misdemeanor of his in parliament. But to put them out of doubt of any question of that nature that may arise among them hereafter, you shall resolve them in our name, that we think ourselves very free and able to punish any man's misdemeanors in parliament, as well during their sitting as after: which we

contented herewith he openly and avowedly

mean not to spare hereafter, upon any occasion of any man's insolent behaviour there, that shall be ministred unto us; and if they have already touched any of these points, which we have forbidden, in any petition of theirs, which is to be sent unto us, it is our pleasure that you shall tell them, that except they reform it before it come to our hands we will not deign the hearing, nor answering of it[a]." Hereupon the commons drew up another petition, which they sent accompanied with the former remonstrance; to which the king answered among other things, "that he must use the first words which queen Elizabeth had used, in an answer to an insolent proposition, made by a Polonian ambassador unto her; that is, *legatum expectabamus, heraldum accipimus;* that he wished them to remember that he was an old and experienced king, needed no such lessons as they had given him; that they had usurped upon the prerogative royal, and meddled with things far above their reach, and then in the conclusion protested the contrary; as if a robber, says he, would take a man's purse, and then protest he meant not to rob him. After this he asks them how they could have presumed to determine about his son's match, without committing of high treason? These are unfit things, (the breaking of the match with Spain, and concluding one with a protestant) to be handled in parliament, except your king should require it of you: for who can have wisdom to judge of things of that nature, but such as are daily acquainted with the particulars of treaties, and of the variable and fixed connexion of affairs of state, together with the knowledge

[a] Franklin's Annals of King James's, p. 60, and Rushworth, vol. I. p. 43.

violated their privileges, by imprisoning,

of the secret ways, ends, and intentions of princes in their several negotiations? otherwise a small mistaking of matters of this nature may produce more effects than can be imagined: and therefore, *ne sutor ultra crepidam.*" He concludes with saying, "we cannot allow of the style (in the petition and remonstrance) calling it your antient and undoubted right and inheritance; but could rather have wished, that ye had said, that your privileges were derived from the grace and permission of our ancestors, and us; for most of them grow from precedents, which shews rather a toleration than inheritance."

At this the commons were alarmed; and therefore solemnly protested that the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of parliament, are the antient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England; that the affairs of church and state are proper subjects of counsel and debate in parliament; that in handling of them every member ought to have freedom of speech; and that they are not to be impeached, molested or imprisoned for the same, without the advice and assent of all the commons assembled in parliament. But this protest had no effect on the king. His anger was not abated, he grew not more calm or considerate, but in full assembly of his council, and in the presence of the judges declared the said protestation to be invalid, void, and of no effect; and did further *manu sua propria,* take the said protestation out of the journal book of the clerk of the commons house of parliament[2]——With reason then did I say, that James

[2] Franklin, p. 62—66. Rushworth, vol. I. p. 46—54.

and otherwise grieving such of their mem-

treated his parliaments, in many cases, most contemptuously; and even a parliament, concerning which he himself had declared, that a part of it, "the house of commons, had shewed greater love, and used him with more respect in all their proceedings; than ever any house of commons had hitherto done to him, or, as he thought, to any of his predecessors[a]." Their love and respect were requited by language destitute of all civility and politeness, and they were threatened, bullied, and insulted. Yea, what was more extraordinary was, that a new doctrine was broached by James, that the privileges and liberties of parliament, with respect to the commons, were derived from the crown, and were rather matters of toleration, than inheritance: This struck directly at their rights and privileges, and was that which they had the greatest reason to resent. For if they were derived from the crown, and were things barely tolerated by it, they might be abrogated and destroyed; and consequently the constitution might be altered, and despotism take place. But James was mistaken with regard to the foundation of the privileges and rights of the house of commons. They flowed not from the grace of our kings; but were coeval with our constitution; as some of our best writers[b] have shewn in opposition to those ecclesiastical, or court parasites, who vainly strove to persuade the world of the contrary. May they be perpetual! may all our princes think it their duty and

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 25. [b] See Sir Rob. Atkyns's Power, Jurisdiction, and Privileges of Parliament, fol. Lond. 1689. Sydney on Government, p. 379. fol. Lond. 1698. See also Spirit of Laws, vol. I. p. 230, and Townshend's Collections, p. 45.

bers as had[67] dared to speak contrary to

interest inviolably to preserve them; and may they be used so as to secure the liberties, the rights and the welfare of the meanest individual.

[67] He violated the privileges of parliament, by imprisoning and otherwise grieving such of the members as had acted in the house disagreeable to his will.] We have heard James in the foregoing note, declaring that he meant not to spare punishing any man's behaviour in parliament, which should be insolent. By insolent, I suppose he meant unacceptable, or disagreeable to himself or minister, how beneficial soever it might be, or intended to be to the public. For it is the manner of princes bent on establishing their own wicked wills, in contradiction to law and the common good, to give odious names to the actions of the sons of liberty, and brand them with ignominious titles.

However, James fully made good his threats. He punished those who were for assisting the protestants abroad, for breaking with Spain, and making a marriage for prince Charles with one of their own religion. For soon after his tearing the protestation of the commons out of the journal book with his own hand, he dissolved the parliament, and "committed Sir Edward Cook, and Sir Robert Philips to the Tower; Mr. Selden, Mr. Pym, and Mr. Mallory, to other prisons and confinements. Likewise Sir Dudley Diggs, and Sir Thomas Crew, Sir Nathaniel Rich, and Sir James Perrot, for punishment were sent into Ireland, to enquire into sundry matters concerning his majesty's service[a]." This was a direct breach of the privileges of the parliament as every one must see. For if the

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 55. Franklin, p. 66.

his mind in the house; to their no small loss and damage.————Nor did he be-

members of it are liable to be called to an account and punished for what they may have spoken, by any but the body to which they belong, the freedom of it ceases, and it no longer has that power and independency which is allotted to it by the constitution. But the violating the privileges of parliament was no new thing to James. For having dissolved the parliament in 1614, "it pleased him the very next morning to call to examination, before the lords of his council, divers members of the house of commons, for some speeches better becoming a senate of Venice, where the treaters are perpetual princes, than where those that speak so irreverently, are so soon to return, (which they should remember) to the natural capacity of subjects. Of these examinants four are committed close prisoners to the Tower: 1. Sir Walter Chute. 2. John Hoskyns," (a man of great parts, learning and merit, who lay in prison a full year, where he was intimate with Sir Walter Raleigh, and revised his history, and where he wrote the following lines to his little child Benjamin.

Sweet Benjamin, since thou art young,
And hast not yet the use of tongue,
Make it thy slave while thou art free,
Imprison it, lest it do thee.)

"3. One Wentworth, a lawyer. 4. Mr. Christopher Nevil, second son to my lord of Abergaveny [a]." Indeed the principle on which James set out was that of crushing the freedom and privileges of parliament.

[a] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 431. 398, and Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. I. col. 614.

have better with regard to his other subjects. Those who opposed his will, surely smarted

For in his proclamation for calling his first parliament, "he gave order what sort of men, and how qualified, should be chosen by the commons; and concludes, we notify by these presents, that all returns and certificates of knights, citizens and burgesses, ought, and are to be brought to the court of chancery, and there to be filed upon record; and if any be found to be made contrary to this proclamation, the same is to be rejected as unlawful, and insufficient, and the city or borough to be fined for the same; and if it be found that they have committed any gross or wilful default or contempt in the election, return or certificate, that then their liberties, according to the law, are to be seized as forfeited: and if any person take upon him the place of a knight, citizen or burgess, not being duly elected and sworn, according to the laws and statutes in that behalf provided, and according to the purport, effect and true meaning of this our proclamation, then every person so offending, to be fined and imprisoned for the same[a]." As soon as the members were chosen, James shewed his authority by vacating the election of Sir Francis Goodwin, knight of the shire for Buckingham, (under pretence of his having been outlawed) and sending a new writ, in virtue whereof Sir John Fortescue was chosen, "notwithstanding (says lord Cecyll, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated April 12, 1604) the lower house having had notice that he was once chosen, and having found that the outlawry was pardoned in effect, by his majesty's general pardon upon his inauguration (although in true con-

[a] Coke, vol. I. p. 20.

for it, and very light and trifling, or even

struction of law he is not *rectus in curia,* until he hath sued out his *Scire facias)* they somewhat suddenly, fearing some opposition (which was never intended) allowed of him, and rejected the other; which form of proceeding appeared harsh to the king rather in form than matter. And therefore being then desirous that the higher house might have some conference with the lower house, (which as we of ourselves did intimate unto them) they grew jealous of that proposition, as a matter which they misliked to yield to after a judgment; and therefore did rather chuse to send to the king, that they would be glad to shew himself the reasons (to whom they owed all duty as their sovereign) rather than to any other, taking it somewhat derogative from their house, to attribute any superiority to the higher house, seeing both houses make but one body, whereof the king is the head. This being done after two conferences, in the presence of the king, the council and judges, the matter was compounded to all men's liking; wherein that which is due is only due to Cæsar; for, but for his wisdom and dexterity, it could not have had any conclusion, with so general an applause; this being found by debate, to be most certaine, namely, that neither of them both were duely returned, and therefore resolved of all parties, that a new writ should go forth by warrant from the speaker, wherein none of them should stand to be elected; and so much for the truth of that cause [a]." This is the representation of a courtier. I will give the reader the judgment of the house of commons on this same affair, and leave it with him to form his opinion.——"For the matter

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 19.

innocent actions were most rigorously pun-

of Sir Francis Goodwin chosen for Bucks, (say they) we were, and still are of a clear opinion, that the freedom of election was in that action extreamly injured.

"That, by the same right, it might be at all times in a lord chancellor's power to reverse, defeat, erect, or substitute, all the elections and persons elected, over all the realm; neither thought we that the judges opinions (which yet in due place we greatly reverence) being delivered what the common law was (which extends only to inferior and standing courts) ought to bring in a prejudice to this high court of parliament, whose power being above the law, is not founded on the common law, but have therein rights and privileges peculiar to themselves.

"For the manner of our proceeding (which your majesty seemed to blame, in that the second writ going out in your majesty's name, we seemed to censure it, without first craving access to acquaint your highness with our reasons therein) we trust our defence shall appear just and reasonable. It is the form of the court of chancery (as of divers other courts) that writs going out in your majesty's name, are returned also, as to your majesty, in that court from whence they issue. Howbeit, therefore no man ever repaireth to your majesty's person, but proceedeth according to law, notwithstanding the writ.

"This being the universal custom of this kingdom, it was not, nor could be admitted into our councils, that the difference was between your majesty and us: but it was and still is conceived, that the controversy was between courts about preheminencies and privileges; and that the question was, whether the chan-

ished [68]. Justice he seems indeed to have

cery, or our house of commons, were judge of the members returned for it? Wherein tho' we supposed the wrong done to be most apparent, and extreamly prejudicial to the rights and privileges of this realm; yet such, and so great was our willingness to please your majesty, as to yield to a middle course proposed by your highness, preserving only our privileges, by a voluntary cession of the lawful knight.

"And this course (as if it were of deceiving ourselves, and yielding in our apparent rights, wheresoever we could but invent such ways of escape, as that the precedent might not be hurtful) we have held more than once this parliament, upon desire to avoid that, which to your majesty, by misinformation, (whereof we had cause to stand alway in doubt) might be distasteful, nor not approvable; so dear hath your majesty been unto us [a]."——From these instances, and many more might be produced, of James's treatment of his parliaments, we may be able to judge of the knowledge, or honesty of father Orleans, who speaks of his "extraordinary complaisance towards the parliament, from his first accession to the throne, which he always consulted," says he, "not only in the weighty affairs of state, but even in most of those that concerned his family; condescending to their advice; pretending a mighty regard not to infringe their privileges; asking few extraordinary supplies, and choosing rather to be streightened in his way of living, than to administer occasion of complaint by filling his coffers [b]."

[68] Light and trifling, or even innocent actions were

[a] Commons' protestation: Anno primo Jac. primi, in Morgan's Phœnix Britannicus, p. 120. See also Oldcastle's Remarks, p. 248. [b] D. Orleans' Revolutions in England, p. 4. 8vo. Lond. 1711.

had little or no regard to, as appeared by

most severely punished by him.] A few instances will be sufficient to prove this. In April 1615, Oliver St. John, afterwards lord Grandison, and lieutenant of Ireland, was fined five thousand pounds in the star-chamber, for opposingthat benevolence moved in the foregoing session of parliament, which was so abruptly dissolved, though that kind of benevolence as he shewed was against law, reason, and religion [a].—— And Sir Robert Mansfield was committed to the Marshalsea, partly for having consulted with Mr. Whitlock the lawyer, about the validity of a commission drawn for a research into the office of the admiralty; and partly for denying to reveal the name of the said lawyer his friend; the point touching a limb of the king's prerogative and authority [b]. And a vast sum of money was exacted, says Cambden, in 1617, of the citizens of London, not without murmuring [c]. What shall I say more? James's reign was full of rigour, severity, and hard dealing. Witness the earl of Northumberland, who was fined thirty thousand pounds, and confined from the year 1605 to the year 1619 in the Tower, upon a mere suspicion, without the least proof of his having had knowledge of the powder-plot, as Cecyll himself confessed in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmonds, dated Dec. 2, 1605 [d]. Witness Sir Robert Dudly, who was not allowed to make use of the depositions of his witnesses to prove himself the legal heir of his father, the great earl of Leicester; and who was also deprived of his honours and estates most iniquitously, as appeared to prince Henry, and to king

[a] Cabala, p. 361. and Oldys's Life of Raleigh, p. 180. note [a]. [b] Reliquiæ Wottonianæ, p. 418. [c] Annals of K. James in compleat Hist. p. 647. [d] Birch's View of the Negotiations, p. 245. See also Osborn, p. 500.

his unparalleled treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh [69], the glory of his age and nation,

Charles the first [a]. And witness Sir Thomas Lake, and many others whose fines were vastly beyond their supposed crimes, and such as ought not in justice or equity to have been inflicted on them. In short, such as displeased James, he had no mercy on, but made them feel the weight of his sore displeasure.

[69] His unparalleled treatment of Sir Walter Raleigh.] Raleigh was a man in point of bravery and conduct, of wit and understanding, of prudence and ability, of learning and judgment, inferior to none of the age in which he lived, and superior to most. What were his actions before the accession of James, those who have curiosity may see admirably described either by Mr. Oldys, or Dr. Birch, in their respective lives of this wonderful man, prefixed to his history of the world, and his political, commercial and philosophical works.

Queen Elizabeth knew his merit, and valued him highly. James on the contrary was prejudiced against him; had little sense of his worth, and soon ill treated him by taking from him his post of captain of the guards, and giving it to Sir Thomas Erskin, a Scotish favourite. In July, 1603, he was confined on account of a plot in which he was said to be engaged with the lords Cobham and Grey, and several priests, and gentlemen, in order to extirpate the king and his issue; set the lady Arabella on the throne; give peace to Spain; and tolerate the Romish religion. On the 15th of November the same year he was arraigned at Winchester for these

[a] See the Patent of K. Charles I. for creating Alice, lady Dudly, a duchess of England, in the appendix to Leicester's Life, note 13. Lond. 1727. 8vo.

whom he caused to be executed after a respite of a great number of years, without the

things; and after having had the civil and polite appellations of viper, traitor, and odious man, who had a Spanish heart, and was a spider of hell, bestowed on him by the famous Coke, attorney-general: after having been dignified with these titles, he was brought in guilty, though not the least shadow of a proof was brought against him. I say not the least shadow of a proof; for whoever will read his trial, or any impartial accounts which are given of it, will not help standing amazed to find how it was possible, after the defence he made, upon such wretched allegations to convict him. But he was out of favour at court; like Sydney, he was talked to death by the lawyers; and in those times when the crown was against a man, he was almost sure of being condemned. When I consider the bitterness, severity, and almost malice which appeared in the council for the crown, against the state prisoners in this, the foregoing, and some of the subsequent reigns, I cannot help thinking, that the gentlemen of that profession are very much altered for the better. They have more regard to truth, justice, and humanity; and consequently, though they may not have as many cases, precedents or statutes to cite, or pervert as Coke had, yet are they vastly more valuable. I hope the reader will pardon a digression, into which indignation at Raleigh's vile treatment drew me. I now go on with the narration. Upon Sir Walter's condemnation, all his lands and offices were seized, and himself committed close prisoner to the Tower. But the iniquity of his sentence was visible to all. The king of Denmark, queen Anne, prince Henry,

least colour of a pretence: and likewise all thought him innocent, after having examined into his crimes [a]; and even James, I believe, did not deem him guilty. He respited his sentence, and suffered him to enjoy his fortune seven years after. Then Sherburn castle was thought a thing worth having by Ker, (afterwards earl of Somerset) and though it was entailed on his children, means were found, for the want of one single word, to have the conveyance pronounced invalid, and Sherburn forfeited to the crown. After sixteen years imprisonment, Sir Walter proposed his voyage to Guiana; got his liberty, gave in his scheme of his intended proceedings to James, who after having given him power of life and death, and a proper commission, revealed his designs to Gondamore, and thereby rendered them abortive. Upon his returning unsuccessful through the fault of his master, and other causes, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, he was seized, imprisoned, and, to the admiration of all men, on his old sentence beheaded. In charging James with betraying Raleigh to the Spanish ambassador, I do him no injustice; as will appear from a letter of Sir Walter's to secretary Winwood. "It pleased his majesty so little to value us, as to command me upon my allegiance, to set down under my hand the country, and the very river by which I was to enter it, to set down the number of my men, and burthen of my ships, and what ordnance every ship carried, which being known to the Spanish ambassador, and by him sent to the king of Spain, a dispatch was made, and letters sent from Madrid, before my departure out of the Thames; for

[a] Raleigh's Works, vol. II. p. 362.

by his saving Somerset, and his lady [70],

his first letter sent by a bark of advice, was dated the 19th of March, 1617, at Madrid, which letter I have here enclosed sent to your honour; the rest I reserve, not knowing whether they may be intercepted or not[a]." The reader, no doubt, is shocked at such vile treatment of so worthy a man, and cannot fail of being filled with horror at it. The sentence in the first place was unjust; his imprisonment was a monstrous hardship; but the execution of his sentence cruel and abominable.

[70] He saved Somerset and his lady from the punishment which the laws had justly doomed them to, for their crimes.] Robert Ker had been first one of the king's pages; being dismissed from this post, he went into France, and from thence returning, through accident he was taken notice of by James, and quickly was made gentleman of the bed-chamber, and became sole favourite. In 1613, he was advanced to be lord high treasurer of Scotland, and the same year was raised to be a peer of England, by the stile and title of viscount Rochester. Soon after he had the garter, and was created earl of Somerset, and made lord chamberlain of the household. A little before this, he had become intimate with the wife of the earl of Essex, Frances Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk, who, in order to make way for her marriage with him, got a divorce from her husband. Soon after they were married; and soon after one of the most iniquitous actions was done, that we read of in history.——Sir Thomas Overbury, the friend of Somerset, and one to whom he owed, as Sir Thomas himself says, "more than to any soul living, both for his fortune, under-

[a] Raleigh's Works, vol. II. p. 367.

from that punishment which the laws had justly doomed them to, by reason of their

standing and reputation[a]:" he, I say, endeavouring to dissuade him from the match, thereby incurred the hatred of him, and his lady. For refusing to go as ambassador abroad, which Somerset advised him to refuse, he was clapt up into the Tower, and there confined many months; and by a variety of poisons, made use of by the agents of the earl and his lady, which cruelly tormented him, was at length put an end to, and it was given out that he died of the pox[b]. But the truth could not be long concealed. Villiers now began to supplant Somerset, and soon got the ascendancy. Every man endeavoured to raise the one, and pull down the other. The murder was discovered. James came to the knowledge of it, and uttered the deepest imprecations against himself and posterity, if he spared any that were found guilty[c]. But his resolution remained not. The instruments were brought to their deserved end; but those who made use of them escaped. On the 24th of May, 1616, the countess of Somerset was brought to her trial, and the earl the next day; the first, after some denials in the court, confessed the fact, and begged for mercy; the other stood upon his innocency, and was found guilty; as there can be no doubt but that he was. All mankind expected upon this, that the judgment against them would have been executed. But on the contrary, a pardon was granted the lady, "because the processe and judgment against her were not as of a principal

[a] Winwood, vol. III. p. 478. [b] See Sir Francis Bacon's Speech at the arraignment of the earl of Somerset, and Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 52. Lond. 1651. 4to. [c] See note 33.

abominable crimes. Somerset, indeed, had been a favourite; and to his favourites,

(says the pardon) but as of an accessary before the fact[a]." As for the earl he had a remission under the great seal of England, Oct. 7, 1624, and was suffered to enjoy the greatest part of his estate, and thought himself but ill-used that he was not restored to the whole[b]. And such was the favour shewed unto him by James, that though he was convicted of felony, his arms were not permitted to be removed out of the chapel of Windsor; and upon his account it was ordered "that felony should not be reckoned amongst the disgraces for those who were to be excluded from the order of St. George; which was without precedent[c]."——This was the justice of James. One of the best of his subjects was executed for no real crime; two of the worst of them escaped punishment for the blackest and most detestable. It is the duty of kings to protect the innocent, and punish the guilty. It is the part of a just king, as well as of an honest man, to render unto every one his due. Honour and praise should be bestowed on the deserving; ignominy, shame and punishment should follow those who trample under foot the sacred laws of society, and humanity. But James permitted not these to follow (as far as he could help it) the crimes of Somerset and his lady, though none were more deserving of them. Princes it must be owned have a right to relax the rigour of the laws, or suspend their execution in some cases. But then there ought to be a just reason for it. Whereas in the

[a] See the Pardon in Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 182. [b] Crawfurd's Lives, p. 402. and Cabala, p. 221. [c] Cambden's Annals of K. James in the Compleat Hist. p. 646.

James was kind in all things; condescending to what [71] was below his dignity in order

case of Somerset, as well as of his lady (though a respect to her father, friends and family are mentioned as a motive to the pardoning of her) hardly one of those causes of relaxing punishment mentioned by the civilians are found [a]. But there certainly was a reason, whatever it was, for this favour shewed to Somerset. Mr. Mallet has quoted some passages from the original letter of Sir Francis Bacon (a name always to be valued by the lovers of learning) then attorney-general, and particularly employed in this very affair, from whence it appears that James shewed an extreme solicitude about the earl's behaviour at his trial and the event of it; that he was afraid lest by his insolent and contemptuous behaviour at the bar, he should make himself incapable or unworthy of favour and mercy; which, together with the letter written by him after his condemnation to the king, in a stile rather of expostulation and demand, than of humility and supplication, makes him conclude, and, I think, not unjustly, that there was an important secret in his keeping, of which the king dreaded a discovery [b]. Some have thought the discovery dreaded, was the manner of prince Henry's death, which was believed to have been by poison; but if I may be allowed to offer a conjecture, for I deem it no more, it was the revealing of that vice to which James seems to have been addicted [c], that was the object of his fear. Whether in this conjecture I am right, the reader will determine.

[71] To his favourites James was kind in all things;

[a] See Puffendorf, b. 8. c. 3. sect. 17. and Grotius de jure belli ac pacis, lib. 2. cap. 20. sec. 25, 26. [b] Mallet's Life of Lord Bacon, p. 65—72, 8vo. Lond. 1740, and Cabala, p. 53. [c] See note 31.

to please or serve them in almost any matters; submitting even to be affronted, and

condescending to what was below his dignity, in order to please or serve them.] I have already taken notice of James's favour to Lennox and Arran when in Scotland [a], to Ker and others after his coming into England [b]; and now I must inform my reader, that he promoted George Villiers from the rank of a mere private gentleman, on the account of his beauty, to the degree of a knight, and gentleman of the bedchamber; master of the horse; baron, viscount, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, and admiral of England, within the space of a very few years [c]. This man, who seems to have had no great capacity, and less knowledge, ruled every thing; he advanced his relations to some of the highest honours, and greatly enriched himself; for at the time of his death he was possessed of near 4000 pounds a year, and had 300,000 pounds in jewels, though he owed 60,000 pounds [d]. I do not think this account of his jewels, beyond the truth. "For it was common with him at an ordinary dancing to have his cloaths trimmed with great diamond buttons, and to have diamond hat-bands, cockades and earrings; to be yoked with great and manifold ropes and knots of pearl; in short to be manacled, fettered and imprisoned in jewels; insomuch that at his going over to Paris, in 1625, he had 27 suits of cloaths made, the richest that embroidery, lace, silk, velvet, gold and gems could contribute; one of which was a white uncut velvet, set all over, both suit and cloak, with diamonds,

[a] Note 3. [b] Notes 23 and 24. [c] See Cambden's Annals of K. James, in the Compleat History. [d] See Tindal's Notes on Rapin, vol. II. p. 276.

insulted by them; and yielding to their de-

valued at fourscore thousand pounds, besides a great feather stuck all over with diamonds; as were also his sword, girdle, hat-band and spurs." This account is taken from a MS in the Harleian library, B. H. 90. c. 7. fol. 642. as I find it quoted by Mr. Oldys[a]. A man who in the midst of pleasures could find money for such monstrous extravagancies, and yet at the same time grow rich, must have had a very kind and bountiful master indeed!—But James was not only kind to his favourites in respect of giving them wealth and honours, but he studied by all possible methods to please and serve them. For Somerset had no sooner determined to marry lord Essex's wife, than the king yielded him all possible assistance in order to accomplish it. For he got over the bishops of Ely and Coventry, (Andrews and Neal) who had been vehemently against the divorce from Essex, for alleged, and, indeed, confessed impotency on his part with respect to her[b]. And when the archbishop of Canterbury, (Abbot) could not be prevailed on to change sides that he might please, his majesty himself undertook to answer his reasons, and to shew that there was "warrant in scripture for pronouncing a nullity *propter frigiditatem*, and that all the means which might make him *frigidus versus hanc* must be included therein[c];" in prosecution

[a] Life of Raleigh, p. 145, in the note c. [b] Winwood, vol. III. p. 475. [c] Truth brought to Light by Time, p. 101. Franklin, p. 3. Weldon, p. 71. Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 112. Lond. 1650. 12mo. The referring to *Aulicus Coquinariæ*, gives me an opportunity of pointing out to the public its true author; of which both Wood, Tindal, and Oldys, as well as Dr. Grey, and all the writers I have hitherto seen, seem to be ignorant. The writer of this piece is no other than Will. Saunderson, author of the History of James I. deservedly treated with contempt, on account of the poorness of its composition, and gross partiality. See Saunderson's proeme to the Second Part of the History of James I. folio. Lond. 1656.

sires even sometimes contrary to his own

of which he made use of many obscene expressions. However, he carried the cause. The lady was divorced, and soon after married Somerset; and then they perpetrated the crime for which they were condemned, and which I have spoken of in the note preceding.—With regard to Buckingham his next favourite, James was still more obliging. In his speech to his parliament in the year 1620, among other things he tells them, "that he had abated much in his navies, in the charge of his munition; and had made not choice of an old beaten soldier for his admiral, but rather chose a young man, [Buckingham] whose honesty and integrity he knew, whose care had been to appoint under him sufficient men, to lessen his charges, which he had done[a]." ——In another speech to the lords, in the year 1621, in order to recommend his minion to their esteem, he tells them, "that he hath been ready on all occasions of good offices, both for the house in general, and every member in particular[b]." And in an answer of his to both houses of parliament, Anno 1623, he stiles him "his disciple and scholar, and a good scholar of his[c]." These expressions sound odd enough, but they are tolerable when compared with those we find in his preface to his meditation on the Lord's Prayer. For in this James tells Buckingham, that he may claim an interest in it for divers respects. "First," says he, "from the ground of my writing it; for divers times before I meddled with it, I told you, and only you, of some of my conceptions upon the Lord's Prayer, and you often sollicited me to put pen to paper: next, as the person to whom we pray it, is our heavenly father,

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 22. and Franklin, p. 49. [b] Id. p. 25.
[c] Id. p. 127.

sense of things.——He professed himself

so am I that offer it unto you, not only your politike, but also your œconomicke father, and that in a nearer degree than unto others. Thirdly, that you may make good use of it; for since I daily take care to better your understanding, to enable you the more for my service in worldly affairs, reason would that God's part should not be left out, for *timor Domini* is *initium sapientiæ*. And lastly, I must with joy acknowledge, that you deserve this gift of me, in not only giving so good example to the rest of the court, in frequent hearing of the word of God: But in special, in so often receiving the sacrament, which is a notable demonstration of your charitie in pardoning them that offend you, that being the thing I most labour to recommend to the world in this meditation of mine: and how godly and virtuous all my advices have ever been unto you, I hope you will faithfully witness to the world [a]." How godly and virtuous all his advices were to this his disciple, the reader will easily judge by looking back to what is contained in note 31. But had they been such as he would have the world believe, it was very mean in a king to trumpet forth his own, and his favourite's praises. Possibly, however, James may be excused on account of his age, as he himself seems to think he should be for uttering trifles. "I grow in years," says he, "and old-men are twice babes, as the proverb is [b]." But if they are babes, and pretend to act the part of men, to reason, dictate and command, though they may be borne with, they will be laughed at. For there is not a more ridiculous object, than that which is compounded of ignorance, conceit and vanity.——Let us

[a] King James's Works, p. 573. [b] Ib. p. 572.

to be a protestant, and boasted that he had

go on with our subject. If we may credit Sir Edward Peyton, his majesty condescended even to pimp for Buckingham. "To please this favourite, (says he) king James gave way for the duke to entice others to his will. Two examples I will recite: First, the king entertained Sir John Crafts, and his daughter, a beautiful lass, at Newmarket, to set at the table with the king. This he did then, to procure Buckingham the easier to vitiate her. Secondly, Mrs. Dorothy Gawdy, being a rare creature, king James carried Buckingham to Culford to have his will on that beauty: But Sir Nicholas Bacon's sons conveyed her out of a window into a private chamber, over the leads, and so disappointed the duke of his wicked purpose. In which cleanly conveyance the author had a hand, with the knight's sons[a]." These were the fruits no doubt of James's virtuous and godly advices, and by these they were faithfully witnessed to the world by Buckingham, as we see his master hoped. For certain it is he was exceedingly addicted to women, and had debauched his own wife before marriage; and "if his eye culled out a wanton beauty, he had his setters that could spread his nets, and point a meeting at some lady's house, where he should come as by accident and find accesses, while all his train attended at the door, as if it were an honourable visit[b]."——And in order to enrich himself and kindred, he was permitted by James to make the most he could of every thing. He who understood neither law nor divinity, who had no appearances of virtue, nor concern about any thing but to gratify his passions; Buckingham, I say, had the

[a] Divine Catastrophe, p. 17. [b] Wilson, p. 149.

been a kind of martyr for that profession,

disposal of the highest posts in the law and in the church, and to him were the most submissive addresses made by the right reverend fathers in God. Those who would give the greatest sums, or pay the largest yearly pensions to him, were the men generally preferred; and few who would pay nothing, had any thing[a].

What the power of Buckingham was, and what kind of addresses were made to him, will best appear from the following letter, among many which might be produced, from Dr. Field, bishop of Landaffe, to him, though written I think, sometime after James's death.

"My gracious good lord,

"In the great library of men, that I have studied these many years, your grace is the best book, and most classick author, that I have read, in whom I find so much goodness, sweetness and nobleness of nature, such an heroick spirit, for boundless bounty, as I never did in any. I could instance in many, some of whom you have made deans, some bishops, some lords, and privy counsellors; none that ever looked towards your grace did ever go away empty. I need go no further than myself (a gum of the earth) whom you raised out of the dust, for raising but a thought so high as to serve your highness. Since that I have not played the truant, but more diligently studied you than ever before: and yet (dunce that I am) I stand at a stay, and am a non proficient, the book being the same that ever it was, as may appear by the great proficiency of others. This wonderfully poseth me, and sure there is some guile, some wile, in some of my fellow students,

[a] See Weldon, p. 119.

though he never shewed his regard to those

who hide my book from me, or some part of it; all the fault is not in my own blockishness, that I thrive no better; I once feared this before, that some did me ill offices. Your grace was pleased to protest no man had; and to assure me no man could. My heart tells me it hath been always upright, and is still most faithful unto you. I have examined my actions, my words, and my very thoughts, and found all of them, ever since, most sound unto your grace. Give me leave to comfort myself with recordation of your loving kindnesses of old, when on that great feast day of your being inaugured our chancellor [of Cambridge] my look was your book, wherein you read sadness, to which I was bold to answer, I trusted your grace would give me no cause. You replied (with loss of blood rather.) But God forbid so precious an effusion. (I would rather empty all my veins than you should bleed one drop) when as one blast of your breath is able to bring me to the haven where I would be. My lord, I am grown an old man, and am like old houshold stuff, apt to be broke upon often removing. I desire it therefore but once for all, be it Ely, or Bath and Wells; and I will spend the remainder of my days in writing an history of your good deeds to me and others, whereby I may vindicate you from the envy, and obloquy of this present wicked age wherein we live, and whilst I live in praying for your grace, whose I am, totally and finally.

"Theophilus Landaven[a]."

A man who could obtain a good bishoprick, by such arts as these, with great sincerity of soul, no doubt,

[a] Cabala, p. 117.

of that persuasion in Germany or France, but suffered them to be oppressed by the

might say, *nolo episcopari!* I do not know whether it is worth while to observe that Field's flattery and sycophancy availed nothing with Buckingham. He had been too much used to it, and so had lost its relish. Money was what he wanted: but Field was poor, had a wife and six children, and consequently could advance little; and therefore remained where he was, till Dec. 15, 1635, long after Villiers' death, when he was removed to Hereford, which he enjoyed not more than half a year[a]. I would not have the reader think ecclesiastical preferments are now obtained by like means as in the days of James. Buckingham having obtained riches and honours in abundance for himself and all his relations, grew quite insolent: Insomuch that he was once about to strike prince Charles[b]: and at another time bid him in plain terms kiss his a——, yea towards James himself, he was highly insolent. For when his majesty attempted to dissuade him and the prince from taking the journey into Spain, to which he had before thoughtlessly given his consent; he rudely told him, "no body could believe any thing he said, when he retracted so soon the promise he had made; that he plainly discerned that it proceeded from another breach of his word, in communicating with some rascal, who had furnished him with those pitiful reasons he had alledged, and that he doubted not but he should hereafter know who his counsellor had been[c]." In short, directly contrary to the mind of his master, he irri-

[a] See Cabala, p. 116. and Willis's Survey of Cathedrals, vol. I. p. 526. 4to. Lond. 1727. [b] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 25. and Weldon, p. 140. [c] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 16.

houses of Bourbon, and Austria[72], without affording them assistance of any value;

tated the parliament against Spain; reflected on the conduct of the earl of Bristol, and told them what was not true with relation to him, and set on a prosecution against him; and ruined the earl of Middlesex, (I mean with respect to his power) though intreated by the king to the contrary[a]. But James bore all this, though not without uneasiness; and submitted to be led by his favourite quite contrary to his inclinations. A sure sign of his weakness! For princes have it in their power at all times to be obeyed, if they require nothing contrary to the laws: and such of them as suffer themselves to be affronted, contradicted or menaced by their servants, and yet continue unto them their favour, shew unto all men that they are unworthy to be trusted with the government and defence of a whole people. For their courage and understanding can be but of a very low kind.——However, possibly the same reason which induced James to pardon Somerset, made him bear the insolence of Buckingham.

[72] He professed himself a protestant, and boasted of his having been a kind of martyr for that profession, —but he suffered those of that persuasion in France and Germany, to be oppressed by the houses of Bourbon, and Austria.] In his speech to the parliament in the year 1624, we have the following expressions: "What religion I am of, my books do declare, my profession and behaviour doth shew; and I hope in God I shall never live to be thought otherwise; surely I shall never deserve it; and for my part, I wish it may be written in marble, and remain to posterity as

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 18—24.

directly contrary to all the maxims of good

a mark upon me, when I shall swerve from my religion; for he that doth dissemble with God, is not to be trusted with men.

"My lords, for my part, I protest before God, that my heart hath bled, when I have heard of the increase of popery; God is my judge, it hath been such a great grief to me, that it hath been as thorns in my eyes, and pricks in my sides; and so far I have been, and shall be, from turning another way. And, my lords and gentlemen, you shall be my confessors, that one way or other it hath been my desire to hinder the growth of popery; and I could not have been an honest man, if I should have done otherwise. And this I may say further, that if I be not a martyr, I am sure I am a confessor; and in some sense I may be called a martyr, as in the scripture, Isaac was persecuted by Ishmael, by mocking words; for never king suffered more ill tongues than I have done; and I am sure for no cause[a]."—"Long before this, in the year 1609, in a speech at Whitehall, he says, that with his own pen he had brought the pope's quarrel upon him, and proclaimed publique defiance to Babylon[b]." Would not one think from thence that James had the protestant interest at heart, and that he was a mighty champion for it? that he had taken it under his protection, and had fought zealously in its cause? those who knew not the man, might have been imposed on by his speeches; such as did, could not. We have seen his unaccountable behaviour in the business of the Palatinate, the loss of which had well nigh terminated in the total ruin of the protestant religion in

[a] Frankland's Annals, p. 101. [b] King James's Works, p. 544.

policy, and the conduct of queen Elizabeth,

Germany, as also of the liberties of Europe. For Ferdinand the second aimed at nothing less than being absolute master over the Germanic body, and in conjunction with Spain, to have given the law to all around him. The consequence of which must have been the total extirpation of the reformed every where. But James was no way alarmed at the consequence. He would not endeavour to prevent it, but remained in a manner neuter, if you will believe him, "for conscience, honour and example's sake. In regard of conscience judging it unlawful to inthrone or dethrone kings for religion's sake; having a quarrel against the Jesuits, for holding that opinion. Besides, he saw the world inclined to make that a war of religion, which he would never do. In point of honour; for that when he sent his ambassador into Germany, to treat of peace, in the interim, his son-in-law had taken the crown upon him. And for example's sake; holding it a dangerous president against all christian princes, to allow a sudden translation of crowns by the people's authority[a]." With such pretences as these did he cover his cowardice, and his unconcern about the civil and religious rights of Europe.

Wars to propagate religion, are whimsical and impious: But wars for the defence of its professors, may be very just and lawful. To have assisted Frederick and his honest Bohemians; to have encouraged and kept together the princes of the union; to have diverted the power of Spain, which was at the command of Ferdinand; and by every honest art to have risen a force capable of withstanding the emperor, was at that

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 16.

who valued herself, not unjustly, on the aids

time incumbent on a king of Great Britain. This I know has been denied by a very able writer[a], who asserts, "that if James had entered into an immediate war to maintain the elector Palatine on the throne of Bohemia, he must have exhausted and ruined this nation to support it." But I must confess I cannot see that this would have been the event. The princes of the union were, it is true, not so closely connected in temper and interest as might have been wished; France weakly refused to aid the foes of Ferdinand; and the popish party at that time was most powerful: But still a resistance might have been made; and had James had skill and courage enough to have joined in it, it might have been effectual to have withstood the attempts towards bringing on the whole world a blind superstition, and a lawless rule.

To talk of ruining and exhausting the British nation, by engaging in this war as a principal, is, in my opinion, unworthy of the penetration and abilities of this writer. Was France ruined and exhausted by encountering this same Ferdinand, when his power by success was much more formidable than it now was? did not Richlieu obtain the greatest glory by advising the assistance of Gustavus Adolphus; by supporting him with money and troops; by drawing off the confederates of the emperor, and engaging every State possible against him? Might not the same thing have been done by James, and that without injuring the British, any more than Lewis the thirteenth did the French nation? Gustavus Adolphus indeed was a great captain, and headed a brave army: But a great captain

[a] Oldcastle's Remarks, p. 285.

she from time to time had given them, to

and a brave army could not have been wanting, had the king of Great Britain fallen heartily into the war, and supported it, as the king of France afterwards did by the persons and purses of his people. In short as a protestant, James was concerned to prevent the increase of the power of Ferdinand, and hinder him from triumphing; for every victory of his was a wound to the interest of the religion professed by him.

But we see that he was so far from doing what he ought to have done in this matter, that he suffered the Bohemians to be reduced; his son-in-law to be expelled his dominions; and the protestants to be brought to the very brink of ruin in Germany; from which only they were delivered by the force of Gustavus, and the abilities of Richlieu. Nor were the reformed in France more indebted to James, than those in the empire. At his accession to the English throne, the dukes la Tremouille, and Bouillon, together with the famous du Plessis, had a design to make him protector of the calvinist party in France[a]. But they soon laid aside their design after having had a thorough knowledge of his character. For no man interested himself less than James in their affairs, no prince gave them less assistance. He refused to speak to Henry the fourth in favour of Bouillon, when solicited by him to do it, because he said it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebel subject[b]. And though the reformed were a very considerable body in France, possessed of places of strength and importance and capable with proper help, of making head against all their enemies, as they had fully manifested in the

[a] See Sully's Memoirs, vol. II. p. 15. [b] Id. ibid.

her own, as well as their great advantage. Though he was not a catholic in persuasion,

former civil wars: though they were thus powerful, and consequently important, he stood tamely by, and saw them divested of their strong holds, and rendered almost wholly insignificant as a party. It is true, James kept up a kind of correspondence with Bouillon, whom at first he had refused to intercede for, and by him gave assurances of his "assisting the reformed if the whole body was assailed, the edicts broken, and they in danger of apparent ruin: in which case (says Buckingham, in a letter to Sir Thomas Edmonds) his majesty doth engage himself to assist them; which though he should have no other means to perform, he will call a parliament for that purpose, not doubting but his people will be as ready to furnish him with means, as his majesty to engage himself to aid them in that cause[a]." But James was not as good as his word. The reformed were assailed soon after, though not in a body: the edicts were broken in numberless instances, particularly in taking from them their strong towns; and they were in danger of apparent ruin[b]; and yet I know not that James afforded them the least assistance, any farther than by ordering his ambassadors to use their good offices on their behalf. "Yea, we are assured by the duke of Rohan himself, one of the protestant chiefs, that James urged him by letters (in any case) to make a peace, and to submit to, and wholly rely upon the promises of his own sovereign, pressing him moreover to consider the affairs of his

[a] Birch's View of the Negotiations, &c. p. 406. [b] See Howell's Letters, p. 90. and Hist. of the Edict of Nantz, vol. II. p. 343, 420.

he favoured those that were, provided they would swear allegiance unto him; and he

son-in-law, and assuring him that he could not possibly give the reformed any assistance[a]."

Had the reformed been properly aided during the minority of Lewis the thirteenth, their power probably would have been so great that Richlieu's arts would not have overturned it: nor would France have given that disturbance to Europe she did, under Lewis the fourteenth.——"Advantages (says a noble author) might have been taken of the divisions which religion occasioned; and supporting the protestant party in France, would have kept that crown under restraints, and under inabilities, in some measure equal to those which were occasioned anciently by the vast alienations of its demesnes, and by the exorbitant power of its vassals. But James the first was incapable of thinking with sense, or acting with spirit[b]."

And the writer of Tom Tell-Troath, addressed to James, and printed about the year 1622, has the following passage. "They (the French protestants) are indeed so many hostages which God almighty has put into your majesties hands to secure you, and your majesties dominions from all danger of that country: and to lose them were no other (in my opinion) than wilfully to tempt God to deliver us into the hands of our enemies. As long as God hath any children in France, we shall be sure to have brethren there. But they once gone, your brother of France will quickly

[a] Duke of Rohan's Discourse upon the Peace made before Montpellier, p. 44. at the end of his Memoirs, 8vo. Lond. 1660. [b] Bolingbroke's Letters on the Study and Use of History, vol. II. p. 181. 8vo. Lond. 1752.

not only relaxed[73] the rigour of the laws in

shew whose child he is, and how incompatible the obedience he owes him (the pope) is with any good-will he can bear your majestie. Since then the tye you have upon that prince's friendship is of so loose a knot, what can your majesty do better for yourself and yours, than to keep his enmity still clogged, by cherishing and maintaining so good a party in his country, as those of the religion[a]."

What Mr. Kelly means by saying James made the interest of the protestants his own, on more than one occasion, I know not. He refers us indeed to the embassies of Sir Edward Herbert, and the earl of Carlisle into France, in order to intercede for the Hugonots, the latter of whom he observes from Rapin, spent vast sums, and consequently his master must be much in earnest to do them service[b]. But what service did James do them? what success had his applications? none; and therefore we may be sure he very little regarded them. Had this gentleman known the character of the earl of Carlisle as one of the most expensive, luxurious men then living, he would have interpreted the words of Rapin as he ought. The vast sums spent by Carlisle, were not on the business of the Hugonots, or to promote their affairs; but in dress, equipage, and house-keeping, in which he knew no bounds. But I ask pardon for taking so much notice of the mistakes of a writer of so little consequence, either as to knowledge or judgment.

[73] He not only relaxed the rigour of the laws in their favour, but consented to such terms for them in the

[a] Harleian Miscellany, vol. II. 512. [b] See Kelly's Supplemental Remarks on the Life of James I. p. 7. fol. Lond.

their favour, but consented to such terms

marriage articles with Spain and France, as few of his protestant subjects approved.] It appears from a letter of Matthew Hutton, archbishop of York, to Cecyll, lord Cranborne, dated December 18, 1604, that the papists by "reason of some extraordinary favour were grown mightily in number, courage, and influence[a]." They were in great hopes of a toleration, when they saw James set against the puritans; and it became so much the general expectation among them, that in order to clear himself of having intentions of granting it to them, his majesty thought proper to declare that "he never intended it, and would spend the last drop of his blood before he would do it, and uttered that imprecation on his posterity, if they should maintain any other religion, than what he truly professed and maintained," of which I have before taken notice[b].

Not content herewith he ordered the laws against them to be put in execution, and they underwent many of them great hardships[c]. Upon the discovery of the popish plot, there was a general prosecution of all papists set on foot, as might well be expected: "but king James was very uneasy at it," says Burnet, "which was much increased by what Sir Dudley Carleton told him upon his return from Spain, where he had been ambassador; (which I had from lord Hollis, who said to me, that Sir Dudley Carleton told it to himself, and was much troubled when he saw it had an effect contrary to what he had intended.) When he came home, he found the king at Theobald's, hunting in a very careless and unguarded manner: and upon that, in

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 40. [b] Id. p. 49. and note 33. [c] See Osborn, p. 481.

for them, in the marriage articles with

order to the putting him on a more careful looking to himself, he told the king he must either give over that way of hunting, or stop another hunting he was engaged in, which was priest hunting: For he had intelligence in Spain, that the priests were comforting themselves with this, that if he went on against them, they would soon get rid of him.——The king sent for him in private to enquire more particularly into this; and he saw it had made a great impression on him, but wrought otherwise than he intended. For the king resolved to gratify his humour in hunting, and in a careless and irregular way of life, did immediately order all that prosecution to be let fall. I have the minutes of the council books of the year 1606, which are full of orders to discharge and transport priests, sometimes ten in a day [a]." I was inclined at first to call this whole story of Burnet's into question, by reason that Carleton was never ambassador into Spain [b]: but on further search find it probable enough.

For Carleton, in the year 1605, accompanied the lord Norris into Spain, and there might hear what he is said to have spoken to James [c]. So that there is only a small mistake in Burnet, and his account is very probable. For though laws were enacted against the catholics, and the judges commanded on occasion to put them in execution, yet James had a great affection for them, and conferred on them many marks of his favour. Let us hear an indisputable writer on this matter, even James himself. "Not only," says he, "the papists themselves grew to that hight of pride, in confidence

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 11. [b] See Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. I. col. 563.
[c] Winwood, vol. II. p. 54, 57. and Birch's View of the Negotiation, p. 227.

Spain and France, as but very few of his

of my mildness, as they did directly expect, and assuredly promise to themselves libertie of conscience, and equalitie with other of my subjects in all things; but even a number of the best and faithfulliest of my said subjects, were cast in great fear and amazement of my course and proceedings, ever prognosticating and justly suspecting that sowre fruit to come of it, which shewed itself early in the powder-treason. How many did I honor with knighthood, of known and open recusants? how indifferently did I give audience, and accesse to both sides, bestowing equally all favours and honors on both professions? How free and continual accesse had all ranks and degrees of papists in my court and company? and above all, how frankly and freely did I free recusants of their ordinary paiments? Besides, it is evident what strait order was given out of my own mouth to the judges, to spare the execution of all priests (notwithstanding their conviction) joining thereunto a gracious proclamation, whereby all priests that were at liberty, and not taken, might goe out of the country by such a day: my general pardon having been extended to all convicted priests in prison: whereupon they were set at libertie as good subjects: and all priests that were taken after, sent over, and set at libertie there. But time and paper will fail me, to make enumeration of all the benefits and favours that I bestowed in general, and particular upon papists[a]."

———There is a great deal of truth in these lines. The Howards, most of them catholics, were advanced to honours and power by him; the families of Petre, and Arundel, of the same persuasion, were admitted

[a] King James's Works, p. 253.

protestant subjects, who were independent

into the peerage; and in the latter part of his reign, we find Villiers's mother made a countess, and Calvert, secretary of state, created lord Baltimore, though they were openly of the Romish communion. In the year 1610, we find the commons complaining of the "non execution of the laws against the priests, who," say they, "are the corrupters of the people in religion and loyalty;" and, continue they, in a petition to James, "many recusants have already compounded, and (as it is to be feared) more and more (except your majesty, in your great wisdom, prevent the same) will compound with those that beg their penalties, which maketh the laws altogether fruitless, or of little or none effect, and the offenders to become bold, obdurate, and unconformable. Wherefore they entreat his majestie to lay his royal commands upon all his ministers of justice both ecclesiastical and civil, to see the laws made against Jesuits, seminarie priests and recusants (of what kind and sect soever) to be duly and exactly executed, without dread or delay. And that his majestie would be pleased likewise to take into his own hands the penalties due for recusancie, and that the same be not converted to the private gain of some, to his majesties infinite loss, the emboldening of the papists, and decay of true religion[a]."——But notwithstanding these complaints of the parliament; notwithstanding James's own heart bled, when he heard of the increase of popery, by the marriage articles with Spain and France, many things were granted in their favour, and consequently the papists were migh-

[a] Record of some worthy Proceedings in the honourable, wise, and faithful House of Commons, in the late Parliament, p. 19. printed in 1611. 12mo.

of the court, approved, and many greatly

tily encouraged. The Infanta was to be allowed a chapel in the palace, and a public church in London; all her servants were to be catholics, under the authority of a bishop, or his vicar; they were not to be liable to the laws of England with regard to religion; though the children begot on her body should be catholics, they might not lose the right of succeeding to the kingdom and dominions of Great Britain; and they were to be brought up by her till the age of ten years. Besides these articles, with many other made public, there were private ones, by which great liberty was given to those of the Romish church. For by these James promised that the laws in being against them, should not be commanded to be put in execution; that no new laws for the future should be enacted to their hurt, that there should be a perpetual toleration of the Roman catholic religion, within private houses, throughout all his dominions; and that he would do his endeavour, that the Parliament should ratify all and singular articles in favour of the Roman catholics[a]. About the same time a declaration was signed by lord Conway, and others in his majesty's name, dated Aug. 7, 1623, touching pardons, suspensions, and dispensations for the Roman catholics, which, in the opinion of the earl of Bristol, the great negotiator of the Spanish match, in effect was little less than a toleration[b]. And "the king directed the lord keeper (Williams) and other commissioners, to draw up a pardon for all offences past, with a dispensation for those to come, to be granted to all Roman

[a] See Rushworth, vol. I. p. 86—89. Frankland's Annals, p. 78—80.
[b] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 288.

murmured at. The church of England,

catholics, obnoxious to any laws against recusants; and then to issue forth two general commands under the great seal of England: the one to all judges and justices of the peace; and the other to all bishops, chancellors, and commissaries, not to execute any statute against them [a]."——The Spanish match took not place; but prince Charles was married to Henrietta Maria, of France; and James, before his death, signed articles equally as favourable to the English catholics, as conditions to that match [b]. This cardinal Richlieu boasts of. "The Spanish match," says he, "was broken off, and soon after it, that of France was treated of, concluded and accomplished, with conditions three times more advantageous for religion, than those which were designed to be proposed in the late king's (Henry the fourth) time [c]." This was the man who never intended to grant a toleration to papists, who would spend the last drop of his blood before he would do it, and whose heart bled when he heard of the increase of popery. Vile hypocrisy! mean dissimulation! which could answer no other purpose than to expose himself to the scorn and contempt of those who knew him. What the favour which was shewn the catholics when the Spanish match was thought near a conclusion, was, will best appear from the following paragraph in a letter written, if I am not greatly mistaken, by Buckingham to count Gondomar, then in Spain.——"As for news from hence, I can assure you, that they are, in all points, as your heart could wish: for here is a king, a prince, and a faithful friend and

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 101. [b] Id. p. 162. [c] Political Testament, p. 7. See also his Letters, vol. I. p. 2. 265. 8vo. Lond. 1698.

under James, was in a happy state, being

servant unto you, besides a number of your other good friends, that long so much for the happy accomplishment of this match, as every day seems a year unto us; and I can assure you, in the word of your honest friend, that we have a prince here, that is so sharp set upon the business, as it would much comfort you to see it, and her there to hear it. Here are all things prepared upon our parts; priests and recusants all at liberty; all the Roman catholics well satisfied; and, which will seem a wonder unto you, our prisons are emptied of priests and recusants, and filled with zealous ministers, for preaching against the match; for no man can sooner, now, mutter a word in the pulpit, tho' indirectly against it, but he is presently catched, and set in streight prison. We have also published orders, both for the universities, and the pulpits, that no man hereafter shall meddle, but to preach Christ crucified; nay, it shall not be lawful hereafter for them to rail against the pope, or the doctrine of the church of Rome, further than for edification of ours: and for proof hereof, you shall herewith receive the orders set down and published[a]."——This great liberty given to the catholics was highly offensive to the protestants, as we may learn from what follows, which was written by archbishop Abbot to James, on occasion of it.——"Your majesty hath propounded a toleration of religion: I beseech you, to take into your consideration, what your act is, and what the consequence may be. By your act you labour to set up that most damnable and heretical doctrine of the church of Rome, the whore of Babylon, how hateful will it be to God, and

[a] Cabala, p. 242.

highly praised, protected, and favoured by

grievous to your subjects, (the true professors of the gospel) that your majesty who hath often defended, and learnedly written against those wicked heresies, should now shew yourself a patron of those doctrines, which your pen hath told the world, and your conscience tells yourself, are superstitious, idolatrous, and detestable.—Besides, this toleration you endeavour to set up by your proclamation, it cannot be done without a parliament, unless your majesty will let your subjects see, that you now take unto yourself a liberty to throw down the laws of the land at your pleasure. What dreadful consequences these things may draw after, I beseech your majesty to consider. And above all, lest by this toleration, and discountenance of the true profession of the gospel (wherewith God hath blessed us, and under which this kingdom hath flourished these many years) your majesty doth draw upon the kingdom in general, and yourself in particular, God's heavie wrath and indignation. Thus, in discharge of my duty to your majesty, and the place of my calling, I have taken the humble boldness to deliver my conscience. And now, Sir, do with me what you please[a]." I will not here enter into the question whether the intolerant principles of the Roman catholics do not render them unfit to be tolerated amongst protestants. All I shall say, is, that it has been the opinion of some of the best friends to liberty, that they are to be excluded from it, for the preservation of liberty itself; with which it is thought their principles are incompatible[b]. But be this as it will, it cannot be

[a] Cabala, p. 114. Rushworth, vol. I. p. 85,

[b] See Bayle's Dict. article Milton, note [o].

him [74], yea, moreover advanced to riches,

at all wondered at, that the protestants in James's reign should be alarmed at an open toleration of those of the communion of the church of Rome. For they could not but remember the bull of pope Pius the fifth, concerning the damnation, excommunication, and deposition of queen Elizabeth, and the plots which, in consequence thereof, were laid against her life: they could not but remember the detestable powder treason; nor could they forget that James himself had publickly avowed that the pope of Rome was antichrist, the man of sin, the mother of harlots, and abominations, who was drunk with the blood of the saints and the martyrs of Jesus. And remembering these things, could they chuse but murmur against the toleration of so bloody a sect, or look on Buckingham, the supposed instrument of it, but as a betrayer of king and country, and as odious, as he himself declares they did [a].

[74] The church of England under James was in a flourishing state, being highly praised, protected, and favoured by him.] When I speak of the church, I would not be understood to mean "a congregation of faithful men," as our articles in an antiquated manner define it [b]; but the clergy, who have for a long time appropriated that term to themselves, and the places in which they officiate. And when I speak of the church as in a flourishing state, I mean, what I think churchmen generally mean by it, their possessing power, honour and wealth; and not the increase of unfeigned piety, and real virtue.—That in this sense the church of England flourished under James, is beyond all contradiction. In a speech in the star-chamber,

[a] Cabala, p. 244. [b] See article the 19th.

honour, and power; whereby she became in

in the year 1616, his majesty complains, "that churchmen were had in too much contempt, I must speak trewth," says he, "great men, lords, judges, and people of all degrees from the highest to the lowest, have too much contemned them. And God will not bless us in our own laws, if we do not reverence and obey God's law; which cannot be, except the interpreters of it be respected and reverenced, and it is a sign of the latter day's drawing on; even the contempt of the church, and of the governors and teachers thereof now in the church of England, which I say in my conscience of any church that ever I read or knew of, present or past, is most pure, and nearest the primitive and apostolical church in doctrine and discipline, and is sureliest founded on the word of God, of any church in Christendome[a]." In the same speech he tells the judges, "God will bless every good business the better, that he and his church have the precedence[b]." And again, addressing himself to the judges, he says, "Let not the church nor churchmen be disgraced in your charges;—countenance and encourage the good churchmen, and teach the people by your example to reverence them: for if they be good, they are worthy of double honour for their office sake; if they be faultie it is not your place to admonish them; they have another Forum to answer to for their misbehaviour[c]." And in another place, he tells us, "that as soon as a person hath made his choice what church to live and die in, *audi eam*, as Christ commands: for his conscience in this must only serve him for a guide to the

[a] King James's Works, p. 554. [b] Id. p. 565. [c] Id. p. 569.

a condition to be both dreaded and envied

right church, but not to judge her, but to be judged by her[a]."

This is very good, and what most churchmen would be very glad their flocks did believe. For they then might teach authoritatively, and a blind submission would be yielded. Profane wits would not think themselves at liberty to examine the reasonableness of the church's doctrine, but swallow down glibly the most mysterious unintelligible points, to their own great edification, and the peace of the church.——But James not only spoke well of churchmen, and endeavoured to recommend them to the esteem and regard of his subjects, but he heaped on them wealth, and suffered them to enjoy riches in abundance. "He founded a dean and chapter of seven prebendaries at Rippon, in Yorkshire; and settled two hundred and forty-seven pounds per ann. of crown lands for their maintenance[b]." Williams, dean of Westminster, retained at the same time, as himself tells the duke of Buckingham, the rectories of Dinum, Walgrave, Grafton, and Peterborough, and was also chaunter of Lincoln, prebendary of Asgarbie, prebendary of Nonnington, and residentiary of Lincoln[c]. And when advanced to the see of Lincoln, and made lord-keeper of the great seal, he was continued dean of Westminster, and held his other preferments; so that, says Heylin, he was a perfect diocess within himself, as being bishop, dean, prebend, residentiary, and parson; and all these

[a] King James's Works, p. 577. [b] Grey's Examination of the Second Volume of Neal's History of the Puritans, p. 75. 8vo. Lond. 1736. [c] Cabala, p. 409.

by her adversaries. Not so the puritans.

at once[a]. This was a goodly sight in the eyes of Laud, who made use of the example, in retaining with his bishopric of St. David's, not only his prebend's place in the church of Westminster, and his benefices in the country, but also the presidentships of his college in Oxon[b]. In short, the churchmen throve well under James, and were greatly cherished by him; for, to the wealth he permitted them to enjoy, he added real power, and gave them liberty to crush all their opposers. ——In the canons compiled Anno 1603, to which his majesty gave his royal sanction, we find, that whoever should hereafter affirm, that the form of God's worship in the church of England, established by law, and contained in the book of common prayer, is a corrupt, superstitious, or unlawful worship of God, or containeth any thing in it that is repugnant to the scriptures; whosoever should affirm that any of the thirty-nine articles, are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto; whosoever should affirm, that the rites and ceremonies of the church were such as men who were godly affected, may not with any good conscience approve them, use them, or, as occasion requireth, subscribe unto them; whosoever should affirm, the government of the church of England, under his majesty, by archbishops, &c. is antichristian, or repugnant to the word of God, were to be excommunicated[c]. The same punishment was denounced against the authors of schism, the maintainers of schismaticks and maintainers of conventicles[d]. Thus were churchmen armed

[a] Life of Laud, p. 86. [b] Id. ibid. [c] See Canons 3, 4, 5, 6, 7.
[d] In Canons 9, 10, 11.

These were the objects of his majesty's

with power, with which, we may be assured, they took care to defend themselves and annoy their adversaries. Add to this, that the high commission was then in being, in which the bishops were the judges who, by administering the oath *ex officio,* compelled men to accuse themselves, and then punished them in the severest manner. It was this court which obliged the renowned Selden to make his submission, and beg pardon for having published his book on tythes [a]; though most learned men, since that time, have acquiesced in what he has asserted concerning their original; and before this, we find by a complaint of the parliament, that "lay-men were punished by this court for speaking of the symonie and other misdemeanours of spiritual men, though the thing spoken were true, and the speech tending to bring them to condigne punishment [b]."—Such was the power of the clergy under James, such was the use that was made of it! Honest, learned, and worthy men were called in question, and subjected to all the terrible consequences of that thing called an excommunication, for daring to tell churchmen of their vices, or denying their whimsical pretences. This at length bred much ill-blood, and issued in dreadful consequences. Let the prince, therefore, that would reign gloriously, curb the power of his clergy; let him never be made the tool of their wrath or resentment; but, by distributing equal and impartial justice to all his subjects, shew himself their common father and sovereign, and thereby establish his throne in their hearts, and render it immoveable.

[a] Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 392. [b] Record of some Proceedings in the Parliament, Anno 1610, p. 29.

highest aversion[75] and greatest hatred; these

[75] The puritans were the objects of his highest aversion, &c.] This appears from what has been said in the notes 12 and 36 so clearly, that I need say no more concerning it. But James contented not himself with reproaching them, but he let his clergy loose upon them, and subjected them to great penalties, merely on account of their non-conformity to the established ceremonies. Hutton, archbishop of York, received orders from the privy-council, "that the puritans should be proceeded against according to law, except they conformed themselves; tho' I think," says he, "all or most of them love his majesty, and the present estate[a]." And, says Sir Dudley Carleton, in a letter to Mr. Winwood, dated Feb. 20, 1604, "the poor puritan ministers have been ferrited out in all corners, and some of them suspended, others deprived of their livings. Certain lecturers are silenced, and a crew of gentlemen of Northamptonshire, who put up a petition to the king in their behalfe, told roundly of their boldness, both at the council-table and star-chamber: and Sir Francis Hastings, for drawing the petition, and standing to it, when he had done it, put from his lieutenancy and justiceship of the peace in his shire: Sir Edward Mountague, and Sir Valentine Knightly, for refusing to subscribe to a submission, have the like sentence: the rest upon acknowledgment of a fault have no more said to them[b]."——And his majesty summoned the judges into the star-chamber, and, in the presence of the archbishop of Canterbury and the bishop of London, and about twelve lords of the privy-council, asked of them three questions with regard to

[a] Winwood, vol. II. p. 40. [b] Id. p. 48.

he was continually reproaching in his writ-

the punishment of the puritans; the third of which was, "whether it be an offence punishable, and what punishment they deserved, who framed petitions, and collected a multitude of hands thereto, to prefer to the king in a public cause, as the puritans had done, with an intimation to the king, that if he denied their suit, many thousands of his subjects would be discontented?" To this the judges in their great wisdom replied, "that it was an offence fineable at discretion, and very near to treason and felony in the punishment, for it tended to the raising sedition, rebellion and discontent among the people[a]." This judicious resolution was agreed to by the lords then present. Bancroft hereupon "required a strict conformity to the rules of the church, according to the laws and canons in that behalf; and without sparing non-conformists, or half-conformists, at last reduced them to that point, that they must either leave their churches, or obey the church[b]." And that none might escape the penalties of the canons and high commission court, this pious prelate required "some who had formerly subscribed to testify their conformity by a new subscription, in which it was to be declared, that they did willingly and *ex animo* subscribe to the three articles (inserted in the 36th canon) and to all things in the same contained. Which leaving no starting-hole either for practising those rites and ceremonies which they did not approve, or for approving that which they meant not to practise, as they had done formerly; occasioned many of them to forsake their benefices, rather than to sub-

[a] Croke's Reports, part 2d. p. 37. and Winwood, vol. II. p. 49.
[b] Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 376.

ings; and not contented herewith he ex-

scribe according to the true intention of the church in the said three articles [a]." In short, such was the rigour of the prelates, such the sufferings of the puritans, that we find the parliament, in the year 1610, interceding with the king in their behalf. "Whereas," say they, "divers painful and learned pastors, that have long travelled in the work of the ministerie with good fruit and blessing of their labours, who were ever ready to perform the legal subscription appointed by the statute of 13 Eliz. which only concerneth the confession of the true christian faith and doctrine of the sacraments, yet for not conforming in some points of ceremonies, and refusing the subscription directed by the late canons, have been removed from their ecclesiastical livings, being their freehold, and debarred from all means of maintenance, to the great grief of sundrie your majesties well-affected subjects; seeing the whole people, that want instruction, are by this means punished, and through ignorance, lye open to the seducements of popish, and ill-affected persons: We therefore most humbly beseech, your majesty would be graciously pleased, that such deprived and silenced ministers may by licence, or permission of the reverend fathers, in their several diocesses, instruct, and preach unto their people in such parishes, and places, where they may be employed: so as they apply themselves, in their ministery, to wholesome doctrine, and exhortation, and live quietly, and peaceably in their callings, and shall not by writing or preaching, impugn things established by public authority [b]."——Soon after this Bancroft

[a] Heylin's History of the Presbyterians, p. 377. [b] Proceedings in the House of Commons in 1610.

posed them to the censure of the high com-

died, and was succeeded by George Abbot, a man of a more gentle and merciful disposition, who was much more favourable to the puritans than his predecessor. But the rigour against them was far from being wholly remitted. They were so ill used, that they preferred dwelling in a wilderness to their native soil, and chose the perils of waters before the perils they were in among their brethren; though for a time even this was denied them. "Some of the bishops," says Wilson, "were not contented to suppress many pious and religious men; but I know not for what policy, restrained their going beyond sea: for there were divers families, about this time, (1613) shipped for New-England, and were not suffered to go; though afterwards, they were upon better thoughts permitted[a]." ———In short, James heartily hated the people of this denomination; and to be a puritan, was with him to be every thing odious and abominable. How mischievous an effect this prejudice of his majesty had, will best appear from a letter written to the illustrious Usher, from Emanuel Downing, out of Ireland, who is styled a worthy divine, by Dr. Parr:

"REVEREND SIR,

"I hope you are not ignorant of the hurt that is come to the church by this name Puritan, and how his majesty's good intent and meaning therein is much abused and wronged; and especially in this poor country where the pope and popery is so much affected. I being lately in the country had conference with a worthy, painful preacher, who hath been an instrument of drawing many of themeer Irish there, from the blind-

[a] Wilson, p. 74.

mission, who suspended, deprived and ex-

ness of popery to embrace the gospel, with much comfort to themselves, and heart-breaking to the priests, who perceiving that they cannot now prevail with their jugling tricks, have forged a new device: They have now stirred up some crafty papists, who very boldly rail both at ministers and people, saying, they seek to sow this damnable heresie of puritanism among them; which word, though not understood, but only known to be most odious to his majesty, makes many afraid of joining themselves to the gospel, though in conference their consciences are convicted herein: so to prevent a greater mischief which may follow, it were good to petition his majesty to define a puritan, whereby the mouths of those scoffing enemies would be stopt; and if his majesty be not at leizure, that he would appoint some good men to do it for him[a]."——Had a puritan been truly defined, the world would have been at a loss to have known the reason of the severity used towards those who were reproached with that title.——The puritans had their fancies, as well as their adversaries. The surplice, the cross in baptism, the ring in marriage, bowing at the name of Jesus, and some other articles of equal importance, were the objects of their aversion; they thought they smelt of popery, which they could not bear with. The bishops, on the contrary, had a very great fondness for these, as well as for the whole hierarchy. A dispute therefore on these subjects was natural; and, had it been managed fairly, no ill consequences could have happened. But the bishops were in power; the king was their friend, and a foe to those who opposed them;

[a] Parr's Life of Usher, p. 16.

communicated them, notwithstanding the

and they were determined to carry their point at all adventures. The shortest way, therefore, was taken. The puritans were silenced, deprived, excommunicated, and all for trifles. I will not say but the bishops might have more sense, but the puritans had more honesty. The first were persecutors, the latter were persecuted; and consequently were entitled to the pity and compassion of the humane and benevolent.——James and his clergy did not understand the use of sects, "to purify religion, and also to set the great truths of it in a full light; and to shew their practical importance [a]." "Nor did they know the best way to stop the rising of new sects and schisms, by reforming abuses, compounding smaller differences, proceeding mildly, and not with sanguinary persecutions; and taking off the principal authors by winning and advancing them, rather than enraging them by violence and bitterness [b];" and consequently instead of crushing, they increased them. For lord Shaftesbury justly remarks, "that there is nothing so ridiculous in respect of policy, or so wrong and odious in respect of common humanity, as a moderate and half-way persecution; it only frets the sore; it raises the ill-humour of mankind; excites the keener spirits; moves indignation in beholders; and sows the very seeds of schism in men's bosoms. A resolute and bold faced persecution leaves no time or scope for these engendring distempers, or gathering ill-humours. It does the work at once; by extirpation, banishment, or massacre: and like a bold stroke in surgery, dispatches by one short amputation, what a

[a] Hartley's Observations on Man, p. 377. vol. II. 8vo. Lond. 1749. See also Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters, note [c] Lond. 1751. 8vo. [b] Bacon's Essay on the Vicissitude of Things.

intercession made for them by many persons of quality, and by one of his parliaments. In Scotland he pursued them with

bungling hand would make worse and worse, to the perpetual sufferance and misery of the patient[a]."—— But let us leave these reflections and return to James, who was as much set on the ruin of puritanism in Scotland, as in England. In the Parliament at Perth, in the year 1606, he got an act passed, entituled the restitution of the estate of bishops: afterwards they were declared perpetual moderators, and had the high commission put into their hands. In 1610, the king sent for three of the bishops elect, in order to have them consecrated in England, which was done without first giving them deacons or priests orders; and consequently the validity of their former orders were acknowledged. Soon afterwards they had great power committed unto them, to the no small uneasiness of ministers and people[b]. In the year 1617, James made a progress into Scotland, in order to bring the Scots nearer to conformity with the church of England.

"But his majesty," says Heylin, "gained nothing by that chargeable journey, but a neglect of his commands, and a contempt of his authority. His majesty therefore took a better course, than to put the point to argument and disputation; which was to beat them by the belly, and to withdraw those augmentations which he had formerly allowed them out of his exchequer: which pill so wrought upon this indigent and obstinate people, that the next year, in an assembly at Perth, they passed an act for admitting the five articles,

[a] Characteristics, vol. III. p. 95. [b] Spotswood, p. 406. Calderwood, p. 616.

rigour, and was not contented till he set up episcopacy, though contrary to the inclinations of ministers and people. Being

for which his majesty had been courting them for two years together[a]." These articles, which his majesty had courted them so long to admit, it must be owned, were very important. The first requires the blessed sacrament to be celebrated meekly and reverently upon their knees. The second allows the lawfulness of private communion. The third permits private baptism. The fourth commands confirmation. The fifth the observation of some festivals[b]. "These articles being thus settled, order was given to read them in all parish churches; the ministers were likewise obliged to preach upon the lawfulness of them, and exhort their people to submission. And to give them the greater authority, the king ordered them to be published at the market-cross of the principal burroughs, and commanded conformity under pain of his displeasure. But all this not being enough to enforce such a conformity to the ceremonies as was expected, it was thought further necessary to establish them by the sanction of an act of parliament, and to give them the force of a law, this was done accordingly in the year 1621[c]." A prince must be strangely infatuated, and strongly prejudiced, to employ his power and influence in establishing such matters as these! Let us grant episcopacy to be the most expedient government of the church (and expedient enough it must be acknowledged in proper places[d] and rightly executed, by overseeing the manners of the clergy, and keeping them within the bounds

[a] Life of Laud, p. 74. [b] Spotswood, p. 538. [c] Crawford's Lives, p. 174. [d] See Spirit of Laws, vol. II. p. 150.

seized with an ague, he died March 27, 1625, in the 59th year of his age[76] not

of decency and regularity;) yet what man of sense will think it worth establishing at the risk of the peace of the community? Let rites and ceremonies be deemed ever so decent; who will say they are fit to be imposed by methods of severity and constraint? yet by these ways, we see, these matters were introduced among the Scots; to the disgrace of humanity, and the eternal blemish of a prince who boasted of his learning, and was for ever displaying his abilities.

[76] He died not without suspicion of having been poisoned by Buckingham.] "The king that was very much impatient in his health, was patient in his sickness and death. Whether he had received any thing that extorted his aguish fits into a fever, which might the sooner stupify the spirits, and hasten his end, cannot be asserted; but the countess of Buckingham had been tampering with him, in the absence of the doctors, and had given him a medicine to drink, and laid a plaister to his side, which the king much complained of, and they did rather exasperate his distemper than allay it: and these things were admitted by the insinuating persuasions of the duke her son, who told the king they were approved medicines, and would do him much good. And though the duke after strove to purge himself for this application, as having received both medicine and plaister from Dr. Remington, at Dunmow, in Essex, who had often cured agues, and such distempers with the same; yet they were arguments of a complicated kind not easy to unfold; considering that whatsoever he received from the doctor in the country, he might apply to the king what he

without suspicion of having been poisoned by Buckingham. He was buried with great

pleased in the court. Besides, the act itself (though it had been the best medicine in the world) was a daring not justifiable; and some of the king's physitians muttered against it, others made a great noise, and were forced to fly for it; and though the still voice was quickly silenced by the duke's power, yet the clamourous made so deep impressions, that his innocence could never wear them out. And one of Buckingham's great provocations was thought to be his fear, that the king being now weary of his too much greatness, and power, would set up Bristol, his deadly enemy against him to pull him down. And this medicine was one of those 13 articles that after were laid to his charge in parliament[a]."—Dr. Welwood in his note on this passage observes, "that Dr. Eglisham, one of the king's physitians, was obliged to flee beyond seas, for some expressions he had muttered about the manner of his majesty's death, and lived at Brussels many years after. It was there he published a book to prove king James was poisoned; giving a particular account of all the circumstances of his sickness, and laying his death upon the duke of Buckingham and his mother. ——Among other remarkable passages, there is one about the plaister applied to the king's stomach.

"He says it was given out to have been mithridate, and that one Dr. Remington had sent it to the duke, as a medicine with which he had cured a great many agues in Essex. Now Eglisham denies it was mithridate, and says, neither he, nor any other physitians

[a] Wilson, p. 287.

magnificence at Westminster-Abbey[a] on

could tell what it was. He adds, that Sir Matthew Lister and he being, the week after the king's death, at the earl of Warwick's house in Essex, they sent for Dr. Remington, who lived hard by, and asking him what kind of plaister it was he had sent to Buckingham, for the cure of an ague, and whether he knew it was the king the duke designed it for? Remington answered, that one Baker, a servant of the duke's, came to him in his master's name, and desired him if he had any certain specific remedy against an ague, to send it him: and accordingly he sent him mithridate spread upon leather, but knew not till then that it was designed for the king. But," continues Eglisham, "Sir Matthew Lister, and I shewing him a piece of the plaister we had kept, after it was taken off, he seemed greatly surprized, and offered to take his corporal oath, that it was none of what he had given Baker, nor did he know what kind of mixture it was.——But the truth is, this book of Eglisham's is wrote with such an air of rancour and prejudice, that the manner of his narrative takes off much from the credit of what he writes[b]."——The parliament, in the year 1626,

[a] Gibson's Cambden, vol. I. p. 386.

[b] Compleat History, vol. II. p. 790. It is to be wished Welwood had given us the title of this book of Eglisham. In the second volume of the Harleian Miscellany there is a tract intitled the Forerunner of Revenge. Being two petitions: the one to the king's most excellent majesty, the other to the most honourable houses of parliament. Wherein are expressed divers actions of the late earl of Buckingham, especially concerning the death of king James, and the marquis of Hamilton, supposed by poison. By George Eglisham, doctor of physic, and one of the physitians to king James, of happy memory, for his majesty's person above ten years, 4to. Lond. 1642, though it appears to have been written in Buckingham's life-time, and I doubt not, was then printed. There is an air of rancour and prejudice in this small piece; but not a word of what Dr. Welwood relates.

"The king," says he, "being sick of an ague, the duke took this opportunity,

the seventh of May following; his son and

charged Buckingham with having caused certain plaisters, and a certain drink to be provided for the use of his majesty king James, without the privity or direction of the physicians, and compounded of several ingredients to them unknown, notwithstanding the same plaisters, or some plaister like thereunto, having been formerly administered unto him, did produce such ill effects as that some of the physicians did disallow thereof, and utterly refuse to meddle any further with his majesty, until these plaisters were removed, as being prejudicial to his health, yet the same plaisters and drink was provided by the duke, and the plaisters applied to the king's breast and wrist, and the drink given to him at seasons prohibited by the physicians. After which, they set forth, divers ill symptoms appeared upon his majesty, and his majesty attributed the cause of his trouble to the plaister and drink which the duke had given him[a]. The duke in his

portunity, when all the king's doctors of physic were at dinner, and offered to him a white powder to take, the which he a long time refused; but overcome with his flattering importunity, at length took it in wine, and immediately became worse and worse, falling into many swoonings and pains, and violent fluxes of the belly, so tormented, that his majesty cried out aloud of this white powder, would to God I had never taken it."—He then tells us of "the countess of Buckingham's applying the plaister to the king's heart and breast; whereupon he grew faint, and short breathed and in agony. That the physitians exclaimed that the king was poisoned; that Buckingham commanded them out of the room, and caused one of them to be committed prisoner to his own chamber, and another to be removed from court; and that after his majesty's death, his body and head swelled above measure, his hair with the skin of his head stuck to the pillow, and his nails became loose upon his fingers and toes." See Harleian Miscellany, vol. II. p. 71. 4to. Lond. 1744. If this was the book in which Dr. Welwood remembered to have read what I have quoted in the note, his memory discharged its office but very ill. However, I rather suspect, there is a larger account of Eglisham's in print, than that Welwood should have invented.

[a] See Rushworth, vol. I. p. 351.

successor Charles following, attending his

answer insists on his innocency, declaring that the drink and plaister were procured by the king's own desire, on his recommendation; that by his own command they were applied; that he (Buckingham) gave the drink in the presence of some of the physicians, who tasted it, and did not shew their dislike of it; and that when he told the king it was rumoured that the physic he had gave him, had done him hurt, his majesty with much discontent answered, they are worse than the devils that say it[a]. The commons having received a copy of the duke's answer from the lords, say, "they shall presently reply in such sort, according to the laws of parliament, that unless his power and practice undermine our proceedings, we do not doubt but we upon the same have judgment against him[b]." But his power and practice so far undermined their proceedings, that a dissolution soon followed, by which they were prevented from producing their proofs of what they had asserted. This made a deep impression on men's minds, and caused them to apprehend that James had not had fair play for his life. The hindering a parliamentary inquiry into the death of a king, by putting an end to the parliament itself, had an odd appearance, and caused many to think that there was more at the bottom than it was convenient should see the light.—I will add a passage from Burnet, to what has been now produced, which, if true, will pretty well clear up this matter. "King James," says he, "in the end of his reign was become weary of the duke of Buckingham, who treated him with such an air of insolent contempt,

[a] Rushworth, vol. I. p. 389. [b] Id. p. 403.

interment; Dr. Williams, lord keeper, and

that he seemed at last resolved to throw him off, but could not think of taking the load of government on himself, and so resolved to bring the earl of Somerset again into favour, as that lord reported it to some from whom I had it. He met with him in the night, in the gardens at Theobalds: Two bed chamber men were only in the secret; the king embraced him tenderly and with many tears. The earl of Somerset believed the secret was not well kept; for soon after the king was taken ill with some fits of an ague and died. My father was then in London, and did very much suspect an ill practice in the matter: But perhaps Dr. Craig, my mother's uncle, who was one of the king's physitians, possessed him with these apprehensions; for he was disgraced for saying he believed the king was poisoned [a]." These are the foundations on which the suspicion of James's being poisoned by Buckingham relies. Whether any thing more than suspicion arises from them, must be left to the reader to determine. Lord Clarendon, who could not be ignorant of a good part of what has been now related, speaking of James's death, says, "it was occasioned by an ague, (after a short indisposition by the gout) which meeting many humours in a fat unwieldy body of 58 years old, in four or five fits carried him out of the world. After whose death," adds he, "many scandalous and libellous discourses were raised without the least colour, or ground: as appeared upon the strictest and most malicious examination that could be made, long after, in a time of licence, when no body was afraid of offending majesty, and when prosecuting the highest re-

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 20.

bishop of Lincoln, preached his funeral sermon, which soon after was printed with

proaches and contumelies against the royal family, was held very meritorious[a]." This is talking with a great air of authority indeed! was there no colour or ground for suspicion of foul play, when Buckingham himself owned that he had recommended the plaister and drink to the king, and had them administered to him, without consulting the physicians? was there no ground for such a suspicion, when some of his majesty's own physicians believed it, and the king himself attributed the cause of his trouble to the plaister and drink which the duke had given him? had the house of commons no colour or ground to impeach the duke of Buckingham for his behaviour in this affair? or were they the authors of the scandalous and libellous discourses that were raised about it? A writer who gives himself such a strange liberty of censuring, ought to be pretty sure he is in the right, or otherwise he stands but a very poor chance of being believed. Will. Sanderson, very roundly says, "that what Buckingham gave James to drink was a posset drink of milk and ale, hartshorn, and marygold flowers, ingredients harmless and ordinary. And though," says he, "the doctors were offended that any one durst assume this boldness (of applying the plaister) without their consent; by after examination, all men then were assured of the composition, and a piece thereof eaten down by such as made it; and the plaister many months afterwards in being for further tryal of any suspition of poyson[b]."

[a] Clarendon, vol. I. p. 24. [b] Sanderson's Reign of K. James, p. 592, he had given almost the very same account before, in his Aulicus, Coquinariæ, p. 194.

the title of Great Britain's Salomon[77], full of the most gross flattery, and palpable

The reader must give what credit to this he thinks it deserves, for my own part, I doubt it is apocryphal.

[77] Dr. Williams preached and printed his funeral sermon, with the title of Great Britain's Salomon.] This sermon is a curiosity and deserves to be known, as it gives us a specimen of the gross flattery of those times. His text was 1 Kings xi. 41, 42, and part of 43 verse. "And the rest of the words of Salomon, and all that he did, and his wisdome, are they not written in the book of the acts of Salomon; and the time that Salomon reigned in Hierusalem over all Israel, was forty years. And Salomon slept with his fathers, and was buried in the city of David his father." After having mentioned the text he begins thus: "Most high and mighty, most honourable, worshipful and well beloved in our Lord, and Saviour Jesus Christ; it is not I, but this woful accident that chuseth this text." He proceeds then to consider it as applicable to Solomon; and afterwards compares him, and James, "first as it were in one general lump, or mould," says he, "that you may see by the oddness of their proportion, how they differ from all kings besides. And then with a particular examination of the parts of my text, that you may observe by the several members, how well they resemble the one the other.

"For the bulke or the mould, I dare presume to say, you never read in your lives, of two kings more fully paralleled amongst themselves, and better distinguished from all other kings besides themselves. King Salomon is said to be *unigenitus coram matre sua*, the only sonne of his mother, Prov. 4. 3. So was king

untruths; insomuch that instead of celebrating his memory, he has only exposed

James. Salomon was of a complexion white, and ruddy, Canticl. v. 10. So was king James. Salomon was an infant king, *puer parvulus*, a little child, 1 Chron. xxii. 5. so was king James a king at the age of thirteen months. Salomon began his reign in the life of his predecessor, 1 Kings 1. 32. so, by the force and compulsion of that state, did our late soveraigne king James. Salomon was twice crowned, and anoynted a king, 1 Chron. xxix. 22. so was king James. Salomon's minority was rough through the quarrels of the former soveraigne; so was that of king James. Salomon was learned above all the princes of the east, 1 Kings iv. 30. so was king James above all the princes in the universal world. Salomon was a writer in prose and verse, 1 Kings iv. 32 so in a very pure and exquisite manner was our sweet soveraigne king James. Salomon was the greatest patron we ever read of to church and churchmen; and yet no greater (let the house of Aaron now confess) than king James. Salomon was honoured with ambassadors from all the kings of the earth, 1 Kings iv. last verse; and so you know was king James. Salomon was a main improver of his home commodities, as you may see in his trading with Hiram, 1 Kings v. 9, and, God knows, it was the daily study of king James. Salomon was a great maintainer of shipping and navigation, 1 Kings x. 14. a most proper attribute to king James. Salomon beautified very much his capital city, with buildings and water-works, 1 Kings ix. 15. so did king James. Every man lived in peace under his vine, and his fig-tree, in the days of Salomon, 1 Kings iv. 25. and so

it.——James, by his queen, Anne of Denmark, had issue besides Charles who suc-

they did in the blessed days of king James. And yet towards his end king Salomon had secret enemies, Razan, Hadad, and Jeroboam, and prepared for a warre upon his going to his grave; so had, and so did king James. Lastly, before any hostile act we read of in the history, king Salomon died in peace, when he had lived about 60 years, and so you know did king James[a]."

One would think this had been enough of all conscience; but the right reverend preacher proceeds according to the method of his text, "to polish and refine the members of this statue in their division, and particular. In his stile," says he, "you may observe the Ecclesiastes, in his figures the Canticles, in his sentences the Proverbs, and in his whole discourse *reliquum verborum Salomonis,* all the rest that was admirable in the eloquence of Salomon.———From his saying I come to his doings. *Quæ fecerit,* all that he did. Every action of his sacred majesty was a virtue, and a miracle to exempt him from any parallel amongst the moderne kings and princes. Of all christian kings that ever I read of, he was the most constant patron of churches and churchmen.———I will speak it boldly, in the presence here of God and men, that I believe in my soul and conscience, there never lived a more constant, resolute, and settled protestant in point of doctrine than our late soveraigne.———Through all Europe no more question was made of his being just, than of his being king.——He was resolute enough, and somewhat too forward in those unapproachable places

[a] Great Britain's Salomon, p. 37.

ceeded him, and Elizabeth, who married

(the Highlands) scattering his enemies as much with his example, as he did with his forces. Besides these adventures of his person, he was unto his people, to the hour of his death, another cherubim with a flaming sword, to keep out enemies from this paradice of ours."

After flourishing upon his political wisdom and learned works, he goes on to let his hearers know "that as he lived like a king, so he died like a saint. All his latter days he spent in prayer, sending his thoughts before into heaven, to be the harbingers of his happy soul. Some foure days before his end he desired to receive the blessed sacrament, and said he was prepared for it by faith and charitie. He repeated the articles of the creed, and after the absolution had been read and pronounced, he received the sacrament with that zeal and devotion, as if he had not been a fraile man, but a cherubim cloathed with flesh and blood, he twice, or thrice repeated *Domine Jesu, veni cito*; and after the prayer usually said at the hour of death, was ended, his lords and servants kneeling, without any pangs or convulsions at all, *dormivit Salomon*, Salomon slept. And his soul," adds the good bishop, "severed from the dregs of the body, doth now enjoy an eternal dreaming in the presence of God, environed no more with lords and knights, but with troupes of angels, and the souls of the blessed, called in this text his fore-runners or fathers; and Salomon slept with his fathers[a]."—This was the character given of James before those who were acquainted well with him: and yet I believe there is no one, who reads it now but will think it somewhat too panegyrical for the

[a] Great Britain's Salomon, p. 73.

pulpit. But indeed the bishops strived (as he had been so great a friend to churchmen) to outvie each other in praising him; and consequently we can take no measures of the truth from their descriptions. Laud observes of him, that it was little less than a miracle, that so much sweetness should be found in so great a heart; that clemency, mercy, and justice, were eminent in him; that he was not only a preserver of peace at home, but the great peace-maker abroad; that he was bountiful, and the greatest patron of the church; that he was the most learned prince in matters of religion, and most orthodox therein; that he devoutly received the blessed sacrament, and approved of absolution; that he called for prayers, was full of patience at his death, and had his rest in Abraham's bosom [a].

Spotswood determining not to be outdone by Williams and Laud, declares "that he was the Salomon of this age, admired for his wise government, and for his knowledge in all manner of learning. For his wisdom, moderation, love of justice, for his patience, and piety (which shined above all his other virtues, and is witnessed in the learned works he left to posterity) his name shall never be forgotten, but remain in honor so long as the world endureth [b]." These are the characters given of James by three of the highest rank in the church; which yet have had the misfortune to be little credited by disinterested posterity. And therefore Dr. Grey did not do quite so right in referring to Spotswood's character of James, as a vindication of him from what he had been charged with by his adversary [c].

[a] See Rushworth, vol. I. p. 156. [b] Church History, p. 546.
[c] Examination of Neale's second volume, p. 77.

(well known to the world by their misfor-

For court-bishops, by some fate or other, from the time of Constantine, down at least to the death of James, and a little after, have had the characters of flatterers, panegyrists, and others of like import; and therefore are always to have great abatements made in their accounts of those who have been their benefactors: it being well known, that such they endeavour to hand down to posterity under the notion of saints, as they always blacken and defame their adversaries.

I have just observed that disinterested posterity have given little credit to the panegyrics of the three right reverends: I will give a proof or two of it, and then conclude this note. Burnet tells us, "that James was become the scorn of the age; and while hungry writers flattered him out of measure at home, he was despised by all abroad as a pedant without true judgment, courage, or steadiness, subject to his favourites, and delivered up to the counsels, or rather the corruption of Spain[a]."—Lord Bolingbroke observes of him, "that he had no virtues to set off, but he had failings and vices to conceal. He could not conceal the latter; and, void of the former, he could not compensate for them. His failings and his vices therefore stand in full view, he passed for a weak prince and an ill man, and fell into all the contempt wherein his memory remains to this day[b]."——Lord Orrery says, "the character of queen Elizabeth has been exalted by the want of merit in her successor, from whose misconduct gushed forth that torrent of misery, which not only bore down his son, but overwhelmed the three kingdoms[c]."

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 21. [b] Letters on Patriotism, p. 214. [c] Remarks on the Life and Writings of Swift, p. 208.

tunes) Henry[78], a prince of a most amiable

In the Abbe Raynal's history of the parliament of England, we read "that James wanted to be pacific, and he was only indolent; wise, and he was only irresolute; just, and he was only timid; moderate, and he was only soft; good, and he was only weak; a divine, and he was only a fanatic; a philosopher, and he was only extravagant; a doctor, and he was only a pedant. No one ever carried the pretensions of the crown further than James, and few princes have contributed so much to vilify it.—This prince found it easier to suffer injuries than to revenge them; to dispense with the public esteem, than to merit it; and to sacrifice the rights of his crown, than to trouble his repose by maintaining them. He lived on the throne like a private man in his family; he retained of the royalty only the gift of healing the evil, which is attributed to the kings of England. One would have said he was only a passenger in the vessel of which he ought to have been the pilot. This inaction made his days pass in obscurity, and prepared a tragical reign for his successor[a]."——Thus has the name of James been treated by the most disinterested and unbiassed; whether the judgment of his courtiers who had been greatly favoured by him, is to be set in the balance with the opinion of these writers is left to the reader.

[78] Prince Henry was of a most amiable disposition, and excellent genius.] This I take to be literally true; otherwise I would not have been at the trouble of saying any thing about him. He was born at Striveling, Feb. 19, 1594, and committed to the care of the earl of Mar (the family of Erskin, earl of Mar, was always

[a] See the Monthly Review for the year 1751, p. 448. 8vo.

disposition and excellent genius; the dar-

governor of the king's children, from the time the Stuarts mounted the throne); by the following letter writ by his majesty's own hand.

"MY LORD OF MARRE,

"Because in the surety of my son, consisteth my surety, and I have concredited unto you the charge of his keeping, upon the trust I have of your honesty; this I command you out of my own mouth, being in the company of those I like; otherwise for any charge or necessity that can come from me, you shall not deliver him; and in case God call me at any time, see that neither for the queen nor estates their pleasure, you deliver him till he be 18 years of age, and that he command you himself.

"Striveling, 24th of
July, 1595[a]."

In obedience to this command, lord Mar kept the prince, and refused to deliver him to the queen his mother, in the year 1603, till the duke of Lennox was sent with a warrant to receive him, and delivered him to the queen. Mr. (afterwards Sir) Adam Newton, was his tutor, by whose instructions he is said to have profited greatly. "He was," says Sir Charles Cornwallis, "of a comely, tall, middle stature, about five foot and eight inches high, of a strong, streight well-made body, with somewhat broad shoulders, and a small waste, of an amiable majestic countenance, his hair of an aborne collour, long faced, and broad forehead, a piercing grave eye, a most gracious smile, with a

[a] Spotswood, p. 410.

ling of the people whilst living, and greatly

terrible frown, courteous, loving and affable; his favour like the sun, indifferently seeming to shine upon all; naturally shamefaced, and modest, most patient, which he shewed both in life and death.—Dissimulation he esteemed most base, chiefly in a prince, not willing, nor by nature being able to flatter, fawne, or use those kindly who deserved not his love. Quick he was to conceive any thing, not rash but mature in deliberation, yet most constant, having resolved. True of his promise, most secret even from his youth; so that he might have been trusted in any thing that did not force a discovery; being of a close disposition not easy to be known, or pried into: of a fearless, noble, heroic, and undaunted courage, thinking nothing unpossible, that ever was done by any. He was ardent in his love to religion, which love, and all the good causes thereof, his heart was bent by some means or other (if he had lived) to have shewed, and some way to have compounded the unkind jarrs thereof.

"He made conscience of an oath, and was never heard to take God's name in vain. He hated popery, though he was not unkind to the persons of papists.—He loved and did mightily strive to do somewhat of every thing, and to excel in the most excellent. He greatly delighted in all kind of rare inventions and arts, and in all kind of engines belonging to the wars, both by sea and land: In the bravery and number of great horses; in shooting and levelling of great pieces of ordnance; in the ordering and marshalling of armes; in building and gardening, and in all sorts of rare musique, chiefly the trumpet and drum; in limning and painting, carving in all sorts of excellent and rare pictures, which he had brought unto

lamented after his death; which (though

him, from all countries[a]." Thus speaks, of prince Henry, Sir Charles Cornwallis, treasurer of his household. But without other authorities, I should lay very little stress on his book, which looks more like a panegyric than a history:———And we find it observed by a fine writer, "that princes in their infancy, childhood and youth, are said to discover prodigious parts and wit, to speak things that surprize and astonish: strange, adds he, so many hopeful princes, and so many shameful kings! if they happen to die young they would have been prodigies of wisdom and virtue: if they live, they are often prodigies indeed, but of another sort[b]."—However, it is certain, prince Henry had very great merit. "The government of his house was with much discretion, modesty, sobriety, and in an high reverence to piety, not swearing himself, or keeping any that did. He was not only plausible in his carriage, but just in payments, so far as his credit outreached the kings both in the exchange and the church[c]. He was an enemy to oppression and injustice; for hearing the king had given Sherburn Castle to Sir Robert Car, he came with some anger to his father, desiring he would be pleased to bestow Sherburn upon him, alledging that it was a place of great strength and beauty, which he much liked, but indeed with an intention of giving it back to Sir Walter Raleigh, whom he much esteemed[d]." The same noble disposition he shewed towards Sir Robert Dudley, who was deprived of his honours and estate by the injustice of James.

[a] The short Life and much lamented Death of Henry prince of Wales, by Sir Charles Cornwallis. 8vo. 1644. p. 93—101. [b] Swift and Pope's Miscellanies, vol. I. p. 307. 12mo. Lond. 1731. See also Osborn, p. 527. [c] Id. p. 528. [d] Raleigh's Works, vol. I. p. 117.

his physicians declared to the contrary)

"He made overtures to Sir Robert," says king Charles, "to obtain his title in Kenilworth Castle, &c. and bought it of him for fourteen thousand five hundred pounds, and promised to restore him in honors and fortunes[a]." ——This prince was the patron of the studies of Sir Walter Raleigh, for whose abilities he had an high esteem, and who drew up for his use, a discourse touching a match between the lady Elizabeth and the prince of Piedmont; observations concerning the royal navy and sea-service; and a letter touching the model of a ship. And in the year 1611, "that worthy seaman, Sir Thomas Button, servant to prince Henry, pursued the north-west discoveries at the instigation of that glorious young prince[b]."——And very certain it is that he endeavoured well to understand state affairs, and applied himself to get a thorough knowledge of them; the duke of Sully assures us, "that as soon as he had obtained his father's promise that he would at least, not obstruct his proceedings, he prevented Henry's (the fourth's) wishes; being animated with a thirst of glory, and a desire to render himself worthy the esteem and alliance of Henry: for he was to marry the eldest daughter of France. He wrote me several letters hereupon, and therein expressed himself in the manner I have mentioned[c]." Agreeably hereunto, Dr. Welwood says, "the duke of Sully, being in England ——laid the foundation of a strict friendship betwixt his master and prince Henry; which was afterwards carried on by letters and messages till the death of that king. Tho' it's a secret to this day what was the real

[a] Patent for creating Alice, lady Dudley, a duchess of England. [b] Account of several late Voyages, edit. 1711. in the Introduction, p. 15. [c] Memoirs of Sully, vol. I. p. 97.

was supposed to be by poison: but how-

design of all those vast preparations that were made by Henry the fourth before his death: yet I have seen some papers which make it more than probable, that prince Henry was not only acquainted with the secret, but was engaged in the design[a]."———Sir Charles Cornwallis having written to him from Spain, where he was ambassador, prince Henry in a letter to him, replies, "that he must particularly thank him for imparting to him his observations of that state, whereof," says he, "I will make the best use I may; and since that is a study very well befitting me, and wherein I delight, I will desire you to acquaint me further in that kind as occasions shall be offered; that thereby the more ye may deserve my readiness to acknowledge it[b]."—Before Sir Thomas Edmondes's departure to France, prince Henry engaged him to communicate to him the course of things there; and on the second of September, Mr. Adam (afterwards Sir Adam) Newton, wrote from Richmond to Sir Thomas, to remind him of his promise to his royal highness. "This opportunity offering itself so fitly, maketh me call unto your remembrance a promise which his highness allegeth you made unto him at your departure, of imparting to him such occurrences, as that country yieldeth. I find his highness doth expect it; and therefore I presume to acquaint you therewith.—The French perceived very early the forwardness of this young prince, and thought proper to try to secure him to their interest; for secretary Villeroy wrote to Monsieur de la Boderie, the French ambassador in England, from Fontainbleau, the 18th of July, 1608, N. S. that

[a] Welwood's Memoirs, p. 20. [b] Winwood, vol. III. p. 45.

ever that be, certain it is, James was little

king Henry the fourth had told him, that he had more desire than ever to seek the friendship of the prince of Wales, and, for that purpose, to gratify those about him, as that ambassador should judge fit; since that king foresaw, that the prince would soon hold a rank worthy of him in England, on account of the little esteem, which was had of the queen and king[a]." And there is a letter of prince Henry's to Sir Thomas Edmondes, dated September 10, 1612, urging him in a strong and masterly manner to prosecute the scheme of uniting the princes of the blood, and the heads of the protestant party in France, against the ministers of that court[b].—From these authorities I presume, we may with great truth affirm that this young prince was possessed of a most amiable disposition and excellent genius. In short he was the very reverse of his father, and therefore not much esteemed by him. "The vivacity, spirit, and activity of the prince soon gave umbrage to his father's court, which grew extreamly jealous of him; and Sir Thomas Edmondes, though at a distance, seems to have been sensible of this, and to have been more cautious on that account of corresponding with his royal highness[c]." And the prince was so sensible of his want of influence in his father's court, that in a letter of his to Sir Thomas, dated September 10, 1612, he excuses himself from interposing in Sir Thomas's favour, with regard to asking preferment for him; "because as matters go now here," says he, "I will deal in no businesses of importance for some respects[d]." Osborn therefore seems

[a] Birch's View of the Negotiations, p. 327. [b] Id. p. 361. [c] Birch's View, p. 326. [d] Id. p. 361.

affected with it. His other children were

to have been well informed in saying "that the king though he would not deny any thing the prince plainly desired, yet it appeared rather the result of fear and outward compliance, than love or natural affection; being harder drawn to confer an honor or pardon, in cases of desert, upon a retainer of the prince, than a stranger[a]." However, he was the darling of the English nation, his court was well filled, and his attendants were numerous; in life he was highly beloved, after death, equally lamented, by all but his father, and his favourite Rochester. "November the 6th, 1612, proved fatal to him, who died at the age of eighteen, at St. James's, of a disease, with which he had been seized in the preceding month: but the prevailing opinion of that time[b] and since adopted by some of our historians, though contradicted by the unanimous report of his physicians, was, that his end was hastened by poison. And this notion received some countenance, from the little concern, which was shewn at his death by the court, though the nation considered it as an irreparable loss. For it made so little impression upon the king and his favourite, that Rochester, on the 9th of November, three days after that melancholy event, wrote from Whitehall to Sir Thomas Edmondes, to begin a negotiation for a marriage between prince Charles and the second daughter of France[c]."

Sir Thomas indeed had more sense of decency, and therefore delayed it. This the king approved of, on consideration. "For," says his majesty, "it would have been a very blunt thing in us, that you, our mi-

[a] Osborn, p. 531. [b] See Burnet, vol. I. p. 10. Winwood, vol. III. p. 410. Aulicus Coquinariæ, p. 151. Welwood's Note on Wilson, in Compleat History, vol. II. p. 639. [c] Birch's View, p. 371.

Sophia, and Mary, who both died young, and were buried with great solemnity at Westminster.

nister, should so soone after such an irreparable losse received by us, have begun to talk of marriage, the most contrary thing that could be, to death and funeralls [2]."——This conduct is quite amazing! What must the world judge of a father, who was thus unaffected with the death of a worthy virtuous son? If to be without natural affection, shews the utmost depravity of the heart of man, we may, without breach of charity, say that James's heart was utterly depraved. His passion for his favourite, extinguished his affection for his child; and his weakness and worthlessness made him look on him as an object of terror, whom all mankind viewed with esteem and approbation. But the neglect of a father deprived not prince Henry of that reputation which he so well deserved. Posterity have sounded forth his praises, and held him up to view as one worthy the imitation of all young princes; and wherever his character is known, his memory will be highly honoured.

[2] Birch's View, p. 373.

APPENDIX.

Additions to the Life of King JAMES THE FIRST, *communicated by the Reverend Dr.* BIRCH, *Secretary to the Royal Society.*

THE following books were published on occasion of king James I. Triplici nodo Triplex Cuneus, printed at first without his name. Cardinal Bellarmin published, in 1608, under the name of Mattheus Tortus, a book in quarto, intitled, Responsio ad librum, cui titulus, triplici nodo triplex cuneus, sive apologia pro juramento fidelitatis, adversus duo brevia Papae Pauli V, et recentes literas cardinalis Bellarmini ad Georgium Blackvellum, anglice archi-presbyterum: reprinted at Rome, 1609, in quarto.

The king, upon this answer, republished his own book, with his name, with a monitory preface.

In 1609, Dr. Lancelot Andrews, then bishop of Chichester, published at London, in quarto, Tortura Tort; sive ad Matthæi Torti librum responsio, qui nuper editus contra apologiam serenissimi potentissimique principis Jacobi, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ Regis, pro juramento fidelitatis.

Cardinal Bellarmin published in 1610, in quarto, Pro responsione sua ad librum Jacobi, Magnæ Britanniæ regis, cui titulus est, triplici nodo triplex cuneus, apologia.

To this Dr. Andrews, now bishop of Ely, published at London, 1610, in quarto, Responsio ad apologiam cardinalis Bellarmini, quam nuper edidit contra præfa-

tionem monitoriam serenissimi ac potentissimi principis, Jacobi, Dei gratia, Magnæ Britanniæ, Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, omnibus Christianis monarchis, principibus atque ordinibus inscriptam.

Nicolas Coeffetau, afterwards Bishop of Marseilles, published against the king's preface, at Paris, in 1610, in octavo, Response a l'avertissement, addresse par le serenissime Roy de la Grande Bretagne Jacques I. a tous les princes et potentates de la chretiente.

This was answered by Peter du Moulin, minister of Charenton, whose vindication of the king, was printed in French at Paris, in 1610, in octavo, and in Latin at London. The French title is, Defence de la foy catholique, continue au livre de Jacques I. Roy d'Angleterre contre la response de N. Coeffetau.

Coeffetau replied to Peter du Moulin's book, in his apologie pour la response a l'avertissement du serenissime Roy de la Grande Bretagne, contre les accusations du Pierre du Moulin, ministre de Charenton, printed at Paris 1614, in octavo.

Mr. John Donne, afterwards doctor of divinity and dean of St. Paul's, wrote and published, before his entrance into orders, a quarto volume, printed at London in 1610, in support of the king's defences of the oath of allegiance, Pseudo-martyr: "wherein out of certaine propositions and gradations, this conclusion is evicted, that those, which are of the Romane religion in this kingdom, may, and ought to take the oath of allegiance."

Father Parsons, the Jesuit, published at St. Omers, in 1608, in quarto, the judgment of a catholic gentleman, concerning king James's apology for the oath of allegiance: answered by Dr. William Barlow, afterwards bishop of Lincoln. Wood. Ath. Oxon. Vol. I. col. 362.

Martinus Becanus published at Mentz in 1610, in octavo, Refutatio apologiæ et monitoriæ præfationis Jacobi regis Angliæ——and Refutatio torturæ torti contra sacellanum regis Angliæ.

Dr. William Tooker, dean of Litchfield, answered him in his Certamen cum Martino Becano, futiliter refutante apologiam Jacobi regis, printed in 1611, in octavo, at London.

Becanus replied to Dr. Tooker, in his Duellum cum Gulielmo Tooker de primatu regis Angliæ, printed at Mentz, in octavo; where he published likewise, the same year, and in the same form, a book against bishop Andrews, intitled Controversia Anglicana de potestate regis et pontificis contra Lancellottum Andræam.

To which last book of Becanus an answer was given by Robert Burhill, intitled, Contra Becani controversiam Anglicanam assertio pro jure regis, proque episcopi Eliensis responsione ad apologiam Bellarmini; London 1613, in octavo——Mr. Richard Harris published likewise an answer in Latin, at London, 1612, in octavo, to Becanus's Controversia Anglicana.

Leonardus Lessius wrote against the king's Præfatio monitoria, in a book printed at Antwerp, 1611, in octavo, and intitled De Antichristo et ejus præcursoribus disputatio, qua refutatur præfatio monitoria Jacobi regis Magnæ Britanniæ.

This was answered by Dr. George Downame, afterwards bishop of Londonderry in Ireland, in his book, called, Papa Antichristus, seu diatriba duabus partibus, quarum prior 6 libris vindicat Jacobi regis sententiam de Antichristo, posterior refutat Leonardi Lessii 16 demonstrationes regis præfationi monitoriæ oppositas: London 1620.

Francis Suares, the Jesuit, attacked the king's apology for the oath of allegiance in his Defensio fidei

catholicæ contra Anglicanæ sectæ errores, una cum responsione ad Jacobi regis apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis, printed at Coimbra in 1613, and at Mentz in 1619.

Leonardus Cocquæus, an Augustinian monk, published at Friburg, in 1610, Examen præfationis apologiæ Jacobi regis pro juramento fidelitatis.

James Gretser, the Jesuit, in 1610, printed at Ingolstad, Βασιλικον Δωρον, seu commentarius exegeticus in Jacobi regis Magnæ Britanniæ præfationem monitoriam, et in ejusdem apologiam pro juramento fidelitatis.

Andræas Eudæmon-Johannes wrote against bishop Andrews, in his Parallelus Torti et tortoris ejus L. Cicestrensis, seu responsio ad torturam Torti pro Roberto Bellarmino; Colen in 1611.

This was replied to by Dr. Samuel Collins, Regius Professor of divinity at Cambridge, in a book, printed there in quarto, under the title of "Increpatio Andreæ Eudæmon-Johannis de infami parallelo, et renovata assertio torturæ Torti pro episcopo Eliensi."—He published likewise, at Cambridge, in 1617, in quarto, "Ephata to T. T. or a defence of the bishop of Ely concerning his answer to cardinal Bellarmin's apology, against the calumnies of a scandalous pamphlet."

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END OF VOL. I.

G. Woodfall, Printer,
Angel Court, Skinner Street, London.